

THE USE OF INTERNATIONAL RADIO BROADCASTING BY REGIONAL
POWERS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA: A CASE STUDY OF RADIO
AUSTRALIA AND ALL INDIA RADIO

By

ANDREW M. CLARK

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Andrew M. Clark

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This dissertation uses systems theory to describe how and why two regional powers, Australia and India, are using their international radio stations, Radio Australia and All India Radio, in the post-Cold War era. In an era of change in the world political system, many countries are rethinking their need for, and use of, their international radio stations. Some governments have shut down their stations, while others are focusing on other means of transmission apart from shortwave.

Both Australia and India continue to use their international stations but in different ways. Radio Australia is a regional broadcaster focusing solely on the Asia-Pacific region. The station is program producer and provider as well as a broadcaster, and uses many different means of communication to provide a wide array of programming to individuals and stations in the Asia-Pacific region.

All India Radio's focus is regional, but it also sends its signal worldwide via shortwave and satellite. It is involved in an ongoing regional conflict with Pakistan and the station is used to provide people in the region and further afield with India's view of the conflict and of world events. The station is also used to provide listeners with a glimpse into Indian culture through the broadcast of music, talk, and news programming.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Governments, communities, and individuals have relied on international radio broadcasting¹ since shortwave frequencies were first used in the 1920s. Governments have relied on shortwave radio to get out their messages, whether propagandistic or informational. Individuals and even countries have relied on shortwave for information and to provide a sense of community. However, times have changed. The Cold War has ended and now, instead of a bi-polar world, scholars talk about a uni-polar world where the United States is the lone super power. The change in the world system has not removed the need for international broadcast stations, but it has changed the way in which they are used. Although global powers such as the United States and Britain have been long-time users of international broadcasting, regional powers such as Australia and India have also found international radio broadcasting to be a useful tool.

Research Questions

This research seeks to describe how two regional powers, Australia and India, are utilizing their international radio stations in the post-Cold War era. The two broad questions guiding the research are

¹The author has elected to follow Browne in defining international radio broadcasting as "the purposeful attempts on the part of stations in one country to reach listeners in other countries" (1982, p. 3). As Browne notes, these organizations are referred to as stations even though they include different broadcast services and different languages. The different language services are all under central control.

- Q. 1. How are Australia and India using their international radio stations in the post-Cold War era?
- Q. 2 Why are Australia and India using their international radio stations in the post-Cold War era?

To answer these two overarching questions the following questions must also be answered.

1. How has the development of technology such as satellites and the Internet influenced, or changed, the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by their respective governments?
2. How do regional and world political events influence the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by Australia and India?
3. In what way(s) is international radio broadcasting a useful means of international communication for the Australian and Indian governments?
4. To what extent does the programming and target audience of Radio Australia and All India Radio reflect their country's foreign policy?
5. To what extent are Radio Australia and All India Radio independent of government influence in their operation?
6. What role does Radio Australia's and All India Radio's charter play in governing how Australia and India use the stations?
7. To what extent is a nation's use of international radio broadcasting an important tool in establishing the nation's identity to listeners in the region and/or the world?

These questions will be answered throughout the dissertation and then reviewed in Chapter 6.

The two services analyzed are Radio Australia and All India Radio.

Australia and India are regional powers, that is, countries that by virtue of their place in the world system are unable to affect the political system on their own but are looked to as a dominant state in their respective regions. A regional power's dominance in its region is manifest through economic resources, military

capabilities, and geographic and natural resources (Wendt, 1999). The combination of all or some of these factors enables certain states to claim the label regional power. The label regional power gives the state an identity and a role in the world system that helps to define the nation's interests. However, there are many factors that must be taken in to account when trying to establish that identity or role. A regional power's foreign policy is going to be determined by internal forces and the need to look after its own interests. Its foreign policy is going to be determined by the region it is in and its role as a leader in that region. It will also be determined by systemic pressures and the ties it has with a country, or countries, in the core² and the need to maintain those relationships. In terms of the research for this dissertation it is necessary to understand the role that international radio broadcasting plays in a country's attempt to carve its identity in its particular region, particularly as several countries appear to be abandoning the use of international radio broadcasting as a tool of foreign policy.

Australia and India actively use radio broadcasting as a means of enhancing their foreign policy. India is one of the few countries that remains committed to its external radio service. This is not surprising when one considers its ongoing conflict with Pakistan and China. Australia's use of international radio broadcasting would not have been unusual during the Cold War, but since the War ended the use of shortwave broadcasting by Australia and by other

²The term core refers to those countries that are the richest, and that specialize in goods with the highest values (e.g., United States). In concentric circles out from the core are countries in the semi-periphery and countries in the periphery. Those in the periphery are raw material suppliers and are often the poorest countries. Countries in the semi-periphery take the raw materials and sell them to countries in the core. These countries are often regional financial hubs.

countries, has seemingly become less important. As the world system has changed many governments are rethinking their use of international radio broadcasting. Some governments have shut down their shortwave stations or have dramatically reduced funding because they no longer see a value in the medium. The shortwave frequencies and the stations that utilize those frequencies are seen by some as a Cold War relic.

Australia and India are different in that radio is a tool the two governments are using to promote an image of their country to people in the immediate region or around the world. As will be seen in Chapter 4, the Australian government used Radio Australia during World War II and later during the Cold War to counter propaganda messages put forth by enemy countries and to articulate Australia's view on world events. Similarly, the British initially used All India Radio during World War II to promote the Allies' cause. Later, after independence, the Indian government used the service to aid other countries seeking independence.

In the late 1990s Radio Australia's funding was cut, staff were let go, and broadcasts in certain languages were eliminated. It seemed that the station was in jeopardy, but several years later various events in the region led to the Australian government reinstating funding. Radio Australia emerged from the crisis period with a stronger identity as Australia's voice to the Asia/Pacific region.

All India Radio (AIR), on the other hand, has not suffered from the same funding cutbacks. It has continued to articulate India's culture and position on local, regional, and world events to interested listeners around the world.

Where the shortwave services of, for example, Australia, India, Britain, and the United States stand apart is that currently they appear to have adequate government funding, and they have a strong identity stemming from their relationship with their government. However, as will be illustrated later in this chapter, many other government funded shortwave radio stations are suffering from a crisis of identity. Without a strong identity or sense of purpose, the stations may become ineffective. The identity of a station provides a *raison d'être* that gives the station focus and the programming meaning. Because the stations are funded by their governments, it is logical to assume that the identity of the stations should come from the identity of the country or culture that funds and operates them. These are services designed to target a foreign audience, and the foreign policy of the country should be reflected in the programming broadcast, the languages used by the service, and by the governing policy documents of the service.

The charter is the governing document or mission statement for an international radio station. It describes the goals for the station and the principles by which the station operates. The charter is often signed into law by a president or prime minister and is passed by the legislative body such as Congress or the Parliament. The charter of, for example, Voice of America was signed into law by President Ford in 1976. The director of VOA cannot change the charter. If a sitting President does not agree with the focus of the service, it is not necessary for him to alter the charter. There are other ways to less overtly influence the station such as appointing a director with similar ideologies as the president and

his administration, or the adding or removal of language services that can be done without changing the charter.

The station's charter represents the priorities and values of the state, not necessarily those of the current government. If the charter does not reflect the foreign policy of the government, that does not necessarily show that the government has a lack of understanding of the value of an international broadcast station. The charter may have been created during a time when international broadcasting was a necessity to aid in the state's objectives overseas. As times have changed, the charter may still mandate that the state has an international radio service; but the foreign policy priorities of the government may dictate such a service is no longer necessary. The government may understand the effectiveness of international radio broadcasting during certain times in history but lack an understanding of its relevance in an era of political and technological change. An examination of this medium and the relationship among international radio broadcasting, propaganda, and government policy helps us understand the current state of international broadcasting and the effectiveness of the medium.

Shortwave Overview

The media have long been considered a useful tool in shaping public opinion to support foreign policy. In 1780, Thomas Paine wanted to travel to England and plant fake stories in the British press to sway the British public's view of America. Paine wrote, "Now there is no other method to give this information a national currency but this,—the channel of the press, which I have ever considered the tongue of the world and which governs the sentiments of mankind more than anything else that ever did or can exist" (as cited in Davison,

1963, p. 28). Benjamin Franklin persuaded Paine, among others, not to go ahead with his plan because they did not believe it would be successful (Davison, 1963).

Years later in another part of the world, the issue of the media as tools for propaganda and policy again came to the fore. According to Fenwick (1938) the idea of hostile government propaganda first became an issue during the establishment of the Soviet Government in Russia. The Russians became convinced the success of their revolution hinged on similar revolutions being carried out in all capitalist countries. This led to attempts by the Russians to influence people in other states in the hopes that public opinion would be turned toward the Russian ideology. It also led to efforts by capitalist states to defend against the attempts.

Soon a new medium, radio, was being used to disseminate information from one country to another. Radio was a more powerful and intrusive medium than anything that had been used before. Governments believed radio broadcasts could help shape or change the beliefs of citizens of other countries. They believed that if they could change the attitude of the citizens, then they could have an impact on government policy (Graves, 1941).

Before looking at the early uses of international radio broadcasting, it is necessary to examine some technical issues to understand why this medium has been, and continues to be, popular for the transmission of international radio broadcasts. The section begins by looking at the role of sky waves for shortwave broadcasts and uses the operation of Radio Netherlands to show how the number of antennas and types of transmitters used by international radio broadcasters differ from a regular AM or FM station. The section concludes by

looking at how shortwave frequencies are assigned by the International Telecommunications Union.

Technical Issues

Sky Waves

Radio stations that target listeners within their own country are able to reach their desired audience using either the AM or FM portion of the broadcast spectrum. But, for the most part, frequencies in those portions of the spectrum while providing better sound do not have the range that shortwave (SW) has. In the United States and many other countries, FM radio stations use frequencies between 88 and 108 MHz. However, transmitters using these frequencies have a service area of up to 100 km and use direct waves or line of sight, meaning the signal travels in a straight line between the radio station's tower and the receiver (Radio Netherlands, 2003). AM radio signals travel further especially at night but after about 1000 km the signal gets weak and noisy.

Therefore, it is necessary to broadcast using frequencies in the shortwave portion, or high frequency portion of the spectrum. This portion of the spectrum relies on sky waves to help the signal travel further. According to Head, Spann, and McGregor (2001),

Most radio waves that radiate upward dissipate their energy in space. However, waves in the medium-frequency band (AM) and the high-frequency band (SW) when radiated upward tend to bend back at an angle toward the Earth when they encounter the ionosphere. The ionosphere consists of several atmospheric layers located from about 40 to 600 miles above the Earth's surface. Bombarded by high energy radiation from the sun, these layers take on special electrical properties, causing refraction (a gradual type of reflection or bending back) of AM and short-wave signals. Refracted waves are called sky waves. (pp. 96-98)

Depending on the frequency used, power, and ionospheric conditions, sky waves will bounce off the Earth's surface and the ionosphere many times and the signal can reach thousands of miles. As sky waves follow the Earth's curvature they can travel thousands of miles (Head et al., 2001). The other thing that sets shortwave stations apart is the fact that shortwave stations are not limited to using a single frequency as are AM or FM stations. Shortwave stations will switch frequency "several times throughout the day to take continuous advantage of the ionosphere's changing refractive abilities" (Head et al., 2001, p. 98). Shortwave stations alert listeners to the change in frequencies by publishing broadcast schedules with a list of frequencies to be used over a certain time frame. Engineers at the shortwave stations estimate propagation conditions weeks or months in advance and select those that will be most favorable for allowing the station's broadcasts to reach the intended audience. It is not uncommon for shortwave stations to broadcast propagation reports that alert listeners to changes in the ionosphere and inform the audience of frequency changes and the best times to listen to stations.

Transmitters and Antennas

In addition to the properties of shortwave frequencies, something else that sets shortwave apart from AM or FM stations is the strength of the transmitters, the number of transmitters, and the type of antennas. For example, in the United States the maximum power allowed for an AM radio station is 50 kW and for an FM station 100 kW. And, as mentioned earlier, each station has one frequency and one transmitting tower.

Radio Netherlands, an international radio broadcaster using shortwave, serves as a good example of how shortwave stations differ from AM or FM stations. Radio Netherlands has three transmitter sites around the world enabling the station to cover most of the globe. Its site in Flevoland has four 500 kW computer controlled transmitters with 19 antennas. Seventeen of the antennas are very directional allowing broadcasts to be focused on Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The nondirectional antennas are used by Radio Netherlands to target Europe. In addition the station has a relay transmitter site in Bonaire in the Caribbean with 22 antennas (21 of which are directional) and transmitters ranging in power from 50 kW to 300 kW. This site targets the Americas, West Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. The other relay site is in Madagascar with 18 antennas directing broadcasts to Africa, Asia, and parts of Australia. Signals to the relay sites are sent via satellite (Radio Netherlands, 2003).

It is also common for shortwave stations to lease time on transmitters owned by other broadcasters. For example Radio Netherlands uses transmitters in Russia to reach parts of Asia. It also exchanges airtime on transmitters with stations such as Deutsche Welle (Germany) and Radio Canada International (Radio Netherlands, 2003).

Frequency Assignments

Because the signals from shortwave stations cross state boundaries an international organization must be responsible for assigning frequencies to shortwave broadcasters so there is no interference and so that shortwave broadcasting is conducted in a somewhat orderly manner.

The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) is a specialized agency of the United Nations and is the body which, among other things, regulates which frequencies are used, by whom, and what technical standards should be used by the broadcasters. In particular, the Radiocommunication Sector is the branch of the ITU that develops and adopts the Radio Regulations. The Radio Regulations are a binding set of rules governing the use of the radio spectrum by about 40 different services worldwide. In much the same way that the FCC is responsible for licensing stations in the United States in order to alleviate interference, the ITU Radiocommunication Sector is responsible for overseeing negotiations and developing binding treaties among sovereign states over the use of radio frequencies by broadcasting and mobile services. The Radio Regulations contain over 1000 pages of information detailing how the spectrum may be used and shared around the globe (International Telecommunication Union [ITU], 2003).

Having looked at some of the technical aspects of shortwave broadcasting, the next section describes some of the early uses of international radio broadcasting, current trends in international radio broadcasting, and changes taking place in the medium. It begins with the initial use of shortwave broadcasting by Russia and the Netherlands and highlights the establishment of some of the other major shortwave broadcasters

The Early Uses of International Broadcasting

The earliest organized use of radio as a tool for foreign policy (or political communication) was in 1926, when Russia demanded the return of Bessarabia from Romania (Rawnsley, 1996, p. 7). International radio broadcasting via

shortwave began in earnest in 1927, when the Phillips Company based in the Netherlands began broadcasting regularly to Dutch expatriates living in the Netherlands East Indies (now Indonesia). The initial goal was to increase the sale of radios by supplying programming. In 1928, Phillips began another station, PCJJ, with programming broadcast in English and Spanish (Radio Netherlands, 2000).

In 1929 the Soviet Union increased its use of international radio as a tool for foreign policy. Initially, Radio Moscow started with four languages and by 1933 had expanded to 11 languages. The Soviets attempted to explain the revolution to sympathizers in the West and to "propagandize its accomplishments" (Rawnsley, 1996, p. 7). Other countries including Germany in 1929, France in 1931, Britain in 1932, and Japan in 1934 started foreign languages services targeting audiences in different countries (Browne, 1982). However, unlike the Soviet Union, which was urging revolution in its broadcasts, the majority of the broadcasts from other countries attempted to maintain contact with expatriates rather than overtly trying to persuade the foreign populace of a particular ideological viewpoint.

The rise of Fascism was a catalyst for countries to begin using their international stations to attack other nations' ideologies or to defend themselves from such attacks. In 1935, Italy began broadcasting attacks in Arabic against the British government's Middle East policy. Britain, in turn, responded by launching its first foreign language service in Arabic in 1938 attempting to win inhabitants of the region over to the British side (Rawnsley, 1996).

Not surprisingly, given the troubled state of the world at that time other countries, particularly Nazi Germany, quickly began using international broadcasting for propaganda purposes. The Nazi Minister for Propaganda and Enlightenment, Joseph Goebbels, proved adept at using broadcasting to disperse propaganda to the masses. One particularly ingenious method was the free distribution throughout Austria of 25,000 radio sets tuned to only German frequencies. This scheme ensured the Germans had a near monopoly of information³ (Rawnsley, 1996). Goebbel's efforts were not confined to countries Germany occupied; they also were targeted at countries farther afield.

Soon after World War II began, Berlin was directing about 11 hours of programming a day toward the United States. This effort consisted of broadcasts from 6 to 9 a.m., and then from the late afternoon until 1 a.m. One third of the programming was talk, with the rest devoted to musical and variety programs. The Germans used Americans, or people educated in the States, to host the programs (Graves, 1940). The goal was to broadcast German news and programs, using people familiar with American culture, in a way that would appeal to the American population (von Stempel, 1946).

According to Herbert von Stempel⁴ (1946), then First Secretary of the German Embassy in Washington in charge of cultural relations, radio propaganda was very important to the Nazis, particularly to Goebbels. Von

³Rawlings notes that the technique of distributing free pretuned radios was then used by the Allies during the war and subsequently throughout the 20th century, most notably during the Vietnam War.

⁴The article in Public Opinion Quarterly is an excerpt from his interrogation by Capt. Sam Harris of the staff of the War Crimes Commission.

Stempel noted that a member of the German Embassy in the United States, referred to only as von Gienanth, would report political and technical information back to the German Foreign Office which then passed the information on to the Propaganda Ministry. He also would report themes that might prove effective in broadcasts to the United States. Not all the information was accurate, however, as von Gienanth told the German Foreign Office that 5 million people were listening to the German broadcasts, an estimate that von Stempel said was "grossly exaggerated" (p. 228). He estimated the audience at no more than 500,000 people. For technical reasons, the broadcasts from Germany did not reach the west coast of the United States, so a shortwave branch was established in Shanghai to reach that part of the United States.

The Nazis did not always establish their own stations to broadcast propaganda; sometimes they took advantage of facilities in occupied countries. In May 1940, the invading Nazi army took over the Dutch shortwave station PCJJ and used the station for propaganda broadcasts to Asia. The BBC gave the Dutch government-in-exile in London air-time to broadcast back to The Netherlands (Radio Netherlands, 2000). World War II was being fought over the radio waves as well as on the battlefields.

In September, 1940, the BBC broadcast almost 70 news bulletins and programs in 24 languages to countries outside the United Kingdom. The British did not direct their political broadcasts only at enemy countries but also at potential allies. The British wanted the United States to join them in the war effort, and so the BBC was used to try to sway American public opinion with the hope that, in turn, the public would have an effect on American foreign policy.

Part of the problem the BBC faced was that the American public seemed leery of propaganda. There needed to be a balance between keeping opinion moving in the British favor without appearing too forceful (Graves, 1941). However, some people felt that being forceful was necessary. Graves quoted the actor Leslie Howard:

The united British Commonwealth and the United States have surely got beyond the point of . . . niceties. We have arrived at the stage at which we must tell each other openly what is in our hearts and minds. . . . I say to hell with whether what I say sounds like propaganda or not. I have never stopped to figure it out, and I don't think it matters any more. (p. 51)

The United States recognized the potential for propaganda broadcasts aimed overseas but started broadcasting later than some other countries. By the middle of 1942 Germany controlled 68 shortwave transmitters while Japan controlled 46. By contrast the United States international broadcasting program was in its infancy. It had one government owned transmitter in operation before 1942, four in 1943, another 11 in 1944, and a further three in 1945 (Fitzpatrick, 1946). Robert E. Sherwood, in charge of the Foreign Information Service of the Office of Coordinator of Information, reflected on the early years of United States international broadcasting:

Although this nation was then building up its defenses, training an enormous army, there were no preparations being made for psychological warfare. Although the United States has led the world in radio broadcasting, we had done little to develop international broadcasting from this continent. (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 1946, p. 583)

In 1945, Secretary of State James Byrnes wrote to President Truman that the use of shortwave "will be a new departure for the United States, the last of the great nations of the earth to engage in informing other peoples about its policies and institutions" (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 1946, p. 587). Despite its slow

start, the American stations had clear objectives. Then Assistant Secretary of State William Benton said America's shortwave endeavors did six things:

First, they give the world news in brief; second, they give American editorial and radio comments on the news; third, they include statements on American official policy from the President, members of the Cabinet, Congressional leaders, and prominent people in all walks of life; fourth, they present news on American internal affairs; fifth they supply news from the Far East and from the American occupation zone in Germany; and finally they present features on the American way of life and American science, education, the arts, and agriculture. (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 1946, p. 583)

During the Cold War these services and others continued to grow. Two of the most significant international stations during the Cold War battles were Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.⁵ The two stations were developed to help fight Communism in Eastern Europe. Radio Free Europe was established in 1949 to provide news and informational programs to countries in Eastern Europe. Radio Liberty was created in 1951 to focus on the Soviet Union. Both stations were initially funded by the U.S. Congress via the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1971 the CIA involvement in the stations ended, and the two stations merged in 1975. The stations met defiance from the Soviet Union, which jammed their signals. The Soviets also increased the power of its own stations to try to counter what RFE/RL were doing. Other stations came and went during the Cold War, but these two stations remained as symbols of the United State's opposition to Communism.

Recent Trends in International Broadcasting

Over 75 years after Russia first used the shortwave band to broadcast political communication, the medium is undergoing some major changes. Many

⁵More information on RFE/RL can be found at www.rferl.org

of the original broadcast services still exist and have grown stronger. The BBC World Service now has about 153 million listeners, the most of any international broadcast service. Radio Moscow has become the Voice of Russia, and the American services now include Voice of America, broadcasting in 53 languages, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Marti, and Radio Free Asia. Each one has its own unique purpose and identity, but each is tied by ownership to the political ideology and philosophy of its government.

Shortwave as a medium for radio broadcasting is still useful and indeed vital to many people throughout the world. The military coup on the Pacific island of Fiji in the year 2000 was the third such event within the past 14 years. During the first military take-over, the local press was censored and people in the outlying islands of Fiji had little access to information about what was happening. Shortwave became the one reliable source of information. Fijians were able to listen to Radio New Zealand International, Radio Australia, and the BBC World Service to hear news about what was happening in their own country. Fijians were provided with a sense of assurance that they were not forgotten, but rather that the world was taking an active interest in what was happening in their country (Ogden & Hailey, 1988).

Radio New Zealand International broadcasts cyclone warnings and other weather related programming to people in the South Pacific who have no other way of getting such information (Clark, 2000). The New Zealand government used the station to broadcast information to New Zealand troops in Indonesia during the East Timor conflict (Radio New Zealand International, 2002).

Clockwork radios with AM, FM, and shortwave bands have been distributed by the United Nations, the Red Cross, and other relief agencies in war-torn areas around the world. In 1999, 50,000 such radios were distributed to refugee families in Kosovo so they could keep in touch with developments in the war. The clockwork radios have a wind-up handle which, when wound, powers the radio. It provides about an hour of listening before it needs to be wound again. This service has proved valuable as the local media often have been censored by those who have taken control of the country. These are just a few examples of how shortwave radio is useful to people in different communities around the world (Clockwork Radio, 2003, p. 2).

Threats to Shortwave

Many international broadcasters have the Internet to complement shortwave broadcasts. Now stations are able to broadcast in real time or to archive files with broadcasts of popular programs or newscasts. No longer is there a need to listen in real time or to search for a station and barely pick it up because of atmospheric interference; listeners can listen whenever they want to a broadcast that is now crystal clear. In addition, stations are able to provide web pages with information about the station, biographies and pictures of the staff, and transcripts or information on individual programs. Stations can also send out regular e-mails to subscribers with programming guides, programming details, frequency information, and more. All of this was impossible just a few years ago but is now making the Internet more attractive to some station managers and government officials than shortwave broadcasting. However,

some governments are not just using the Internet to compliment their shortwave services; they are actually using the Internet instead of shortwave.

Swiss Radio International (SRI) announced in March 2001 it would cease all shortwave broadcasting. Nicolas Lombard, SRI's Director, and Christine Dudle-Crevoisier, SRI's Head of Communication and Marketing, said SRI would discontinue its shortwave broadcasting over a period of time with no such broadcasting after 2004. SRI's decision revolved around the availability of, and easy access to, other media. The majority of Swiss expatriates reside in other European countries where a wide variety of media contain much information about Switzerland. In addition, the development of on-line services with graphics and text as well as audio files made an Internet-based service more appealing to SRI. Finally, the increased competition generated by new sources of information signals a bleak future for "expensive shortwave services" (Swiss Radio International [SRI], personal correspondence, March 2001) according to SRI. It may be understandable that smaller countries like Switzerland or Austria would switch to the Internet or consider shutting broadcasts down altogether, but this revolution of technology has also hit the larger stations.

In July 2001, the BBC World Service, long considered the epitome of international radio broadcasting, cut its shortwave broadcasting services to North America and the Pacific. The rationale was twofold: first the move would save the service over five hundred thousand pounds,⁶ and second the availability of other means of transmission meant that broadcasting by shortwave was not

⁶The budget for the BBC World Service is approximately 180 million pounds or about US\$280 million.

effective. The decision did not go down well with loyal listeners in the regions affected by the decision. Ralph Brandt began a lobbying effort and set up a web site called Save the BBC (2002) with information about why the decision was a mistake and who to contact to protest the move. He was interviewed on the BBC program "Newshour" and gave one reason why he thought the decision to stop transmitting did not make sense:

With a shortwave transmitter, you turn on the transmitter and it doesn't matter how many people are listening, you don't have to, like, add any more transmitters. But when you're listening on the Internet, every listener requires a new connection, and the more listeners you get, the more servers you need; the more bandwidth you need. So every listener costs the BBC a little more money. (Save the BBC, 2002b, p. 1)

BBC World Service Director Mark Byford was also interviewed on the program and said

It's about recognizing changes in listening patterns in different areas of the world. In the United States, one of if not the most mature broadcasting marketplaces in the world, more people are listening to us today through those FM rebroadcasting partnerships than on shortwave. And on the Internet, 168 million today are connected in the US to the net, and you can listen to the World Service on that net site in higher quality sound than even shortwave. (Newshour, 2001, p. 3)

Byford reiterated that the decision to cut transmissions to some parts of the world was all about "recognizing that we have different delivery methods for different markets and different audience groups (Newshour, 2001, p. 3). He said that in today's age it is not possible for the BBC to be solely a shortwave broadcaster, or to switch completely to the Internet. Either way would mean the audience would decline. In his view, using the Internet to target some areas and shortwave to target others is the best of both worlds.

The final change that is happening in shortwave broadcasting is also technological. An organization called Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM) is seeking to digitize broadcast frequencies below 30 MHz, which would affect the long, medium (or AM), and shortwave portions of the broadcast spectrum. As of April 2001, DRM had 67 members consisting of broadcast stations and organizations around the world. Testing is currently on-going, and in April 2001 the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) ratified DRM's system. The system would provide a digital system with a quality similar to FM.⁷ DRM hopes to have its service in place by 2003. According to DRM (DRM FAQ, 01), many existing transmitters can be modified to carry DRM signals, but it may not be cost effective to modify older transmitters. Of course the introduction of digital transmissions means that the listener will also have to have a new receiver to get the signal. It is hoped that the cost for the new receivers will range between "about \$25 more than the current low end receivers and \$50 more than current high end" (Digital Radio Mondiale, 2003, p. 1). As with all new technology, however, the initial cost of a receiver will probably be somewhat higher and decrease in cost over the years.

Such a change may well revolutionize broadcasting in general, but the question is whether listeners will be willing to pay for a new receiver. Obviously, those in more developed countries may have the disposable income to afford a new radio, but those in lesser developed countries will have a harder time. Shortwave has been the medium of choice for international radio broadcasting

⁷DRM says that with the system there is almost no background noise and an audio bandwidth of 15kHz.

because of its use of sky waves and the ability of the signals to travel vast distances. It seems that countries such as Switzerland, without ties to countries overseas as a result of colonialization, have decided they can more effectively reach expatriates and others interested in its country via the Internet. Even countries like Britain and the Netherlands with colonial ties are now using the Internet and satellite to reach listeners in developed countries while concentrating its shortwave efforts on people in lesser developed nations. This does not mean the end of shortwave broadcasting, but it does mean countries are trying to use the most effective technology available to reach their desired audience. For people in some countries shortwave is the most effective technology, for others the Internet and Satellite give one country the best chance of reaching the target audience in another country.

Having looked at the foundation of international broadcasting, at some of the major stations that paved the way for what has followed over the years, and at changes that are influencing international broadcasting, this next section examines the framework for conducting the research for this dissertation.

Conceptual Framework

The goal of this research is to understand how and why nations labeled regional powers are using international radio stations in the post-Cold War era. One focus will be the factors contributing to that use. Regional powers are being studied primarily because, as can be seen in the literature review in Chapter 2, some of the "big" stations like Voice of America and the BBC World Service have been subject to much analysis over the years. Little attention, however, has been paid to stations operated by countries identified as regional powers.

Chapter 2 examines in detail the notion of the identity of countries and in particular literature on the International Relations theory of constructivism. This theory is used to help provide an understanding of the multiple identities that a country has in the world system. This next section exams General Systems Theory and the use of the theory as a framework for the analysis of Radio Australia and All India Radio.

General Systems Theory

The framework used in this dissertation is based on a systems theory approach first proposed by Hungarian biologist Ludwig Von Bertalanffy in the 1940s. His idea was that a system should not be known by its individual parts, but rather by the dynamic interaction among those parts. According to Longres (1995), the system is influenced by the environment of which it is a part. That environment is not static but is very much in a state of flux and ever-changing.

Infante, Rancer, & Womack (1997) define a system as "a set of interdependent units working together to adapt to a changing environment" (p. 93). They mention that a systems approach is particularly suited for investigations of organizations. They say that the approach has a positive side because it is flexible and it covers all aspects of interactions and relationships within a system. Also, there is no attempt to make universal generalizations; rather the generalizations that may come from a systems perspective are situation specific, or culture specific.

Critics of the approach note that there is not much explanatory power in the systems perspective and that systems theory does not shed light on why things happen. However, Monge (1973) "notes that scientists developed theories

which predicted the motion of planets before they had one that explained it" (as cited in Infante et al., 1997, p. 97). The research for this dissertation does use systems theory to answer the "why" question. The question "why does Radio Australia offer the programming it does?" can be answered when one understands the relationship between Radio Australia, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, the Australian government, and the audience. The question "why does Radio Australia use the languages it does?" can be answered by understanding the foreign policy priorities of the Australian government and again the relationship between Radio Australia and the government. The question "why do people listen to Radio Australia?" can be answered partly by hearing from listeners. There is no attempt to generalize these findings universally because the listeners who contacted the author do not comprise a representative sample of all of Radio Australia's listeners. The answer to why listeners listen to Radio Australia can only be generalized to those the author communicated with. In terms of the research for this dissertation, systems theory is a useful framework in that it illustrates that the radio stations studied do not operate in isolation or some type of vacuum. Instead, they are a part of a system where they are both influenced, and influence other parts of the system and the environment.

Systems Metaphor and Systems Components⁶

Miller (1995) says that "at its most basic level, a system is an assemblage of parts, or components" (p. 87). She says a system can be thought of as

⁶The title is borrowed from Miller (1995).

anything from a biological system where the parts are cells and organs, to an organization where the parts are people and departments, to a large society where the components are organizations and institutions. Hall and Fagen (as cited in Reuben & Kim, 1975) define a system as "a set of objects together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes" (p. 52). Hall and Fagen elaborate by defining objects as the parts or components of a system, attributes as the properties of the objects, and relationships as "those that tie the system together" (as cited in Reuben & Kim, 1975, p. 53). The most important step in describing and analyzing any system is to identify the components of the system. After identifying the components, the researcher can then look at how they are arranged and how they work as part of the system. Miller (1995) notes, "Three concepts characterize system components: *hierarchical ordering*, *interdependence*, and *permeability*" (p. 87).

Hierarchical ordering. Miller (1995) uses the analogy of a hospital as an example of hierarchical ordering. The hospital as an organizational system comprises a number of departmental subsystems such as surgical units, laboratories, and offices. The subsystems comprise of smaller systems and individuals. However, it is also possible to move the systemic analysis in a different direction and look at the hospital as part of a larger "supersystem" called the health care industry including hospitals, clinics, insurance companies, and pharmaceutical companies. Similarly, Radio Australia and All India Radio are made up of subsystems or departments such as news, programming, audience research, and technical. But, the stations also are part of a larger system which includes the radio stations, the government that owns and funds the stations, the

organizations like the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and All India Radio that provide programming, and the audience which, as will be illustrated later, is important among other things for providing feedback.

Interdependence. Kuhn (as cited in Rebeun & Kim, 1975) says in "Action Systems" there is "mutual cause-effect relations between at least two elements, A and B. A change in each element, by movement of matter-energy or information, induces a change in the other(s)" (p. 124). In the system in which, for example, Radio Australia exists, there is a relationship between Radio Australia and the government which operates and funds it, between Radio Australia and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, and between Radio Australia and the audience. A change in spending priorities by the government could lead to a reduction in revenue for Radio Australia. The reduction in revenue changes the amount and type of programming Radio Australia produces and broadcasts. This was highlighted by funding cuts in the late 1990s (see Chapter 4). Clark (2000) in research on Radio New Zealand International provides another example of how cuts in funding by a government affected a radio station, and the audience. A change in government may lead to a change in foreign policy priorities. That change in foreign policy priorities could lead to a complete change in the focus of the radio station.

Miller (1995) says that "no component within the [system] can function effectively without active assistance from other system parts" (p. 88). While it could be argued that the Australian government functions well without Radio Australia, in terms of foreign policy and its efforts to establish and maintain relations with the Asia/ Pacific region, Radio Australia is proving to be an

important part in the equation, and the government does not function as well in its foreign policy endeavors without the station.

Permeability. The third part of the system as described by Miller (1995) is that there are "*permeable boundaries* that allow information and materials to flow in and out" (p. 88). Some systems are closed, which leads to entropy (Kuhn as cited in Reuben & Kim, 1975, p. 117). Miller (1995) says "permeability refers to both the system as a whole—which must be open to its environment—and to the components within the system" (p. 88). Hall and Fagen (as cited in Reuben & Kim, 1975) note that

In a sense, a system together with its environment makes up a universe of all things of interest in a given context. Subdivision of this universe into two sets, system and environment, can be done in many ways which are in fact quite arbitrary. Ultimately it depends on the intentions of the one who is studying the particular universe as to which of the possible configurations of objects is to be taken as the system. (p. 56)

Kuhn (as cited in Reuben, 1975) makes the point that "a system does not respond to its total environment, but only those aspects which impinge upon it" (p. 121). He notes that "it is only to the extent that system has itself been modified by its environment that it can respond to it, and in the strict sense the system responds only to these modifications, not to the environment as such" (p. 121).

In the case of Radio Australia and All India Radio, the environment in which their system functions is comprised of a number of variables including, technological developments, changes in the regional political system, and change in the world system. Both technological and political developments greatly influence the system. For example on a global scale, the end of the Cold

War and the subsequent changes in the world led to many countries reevaluating the need for international radio stations. Regional conflict with Pakistan or in Indonesia has heightened the need for international radio broadcasts from India and Australia. And changes in the technological environment has opened up new, and in some cases, more effective means of communication with the audience.

Feedback

Both positive and negative feedback is crucial to the functioning of any system (Miller, 1995; Kim as cited in Reuben & Kim, 1975). Miller also identifies negative feedback as "corrective feedback," and notes that "it serves to keep organizational functioning on a steady course" (p. 89). Miller refers to positive feedback as "growth" (p. 89), which leads to some type of positive change in the system. For example even international stations have target audiences and broadcast programming designed to reach that audience. One way the station finds out if the programming is reaching its desired target audience is through feedback in the form of letters from listeners, feedback in terms qualitative and quantitative audience research, and phone calls to call in programs on the station. This feedback either validates that the stations programming is indeed reaching the desired target, or enables the station to adjust its programming strategy in order to reach the intended audience. The latter is an example of corrective feedback.

System Properties

Having looked at components and relationships, the final part of the system to consider is the properties of a system. Miller (1995) says there are

four properties that characterize a system: holism, equifinality, negative entropy, and requisite variety.

Holism. Holism suggests the interdependence of the components the system is bigger than the sum of its parts. It is possible to look at a part of the system, for example the relationship between Radio Australia and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation or Radio Australia and the audience, but that would only be a part of the picture. Looking at the whole system and the relationship of the radio station with all the parts provides a more complete description of what is going on.

Equifinality. According to Rappaport (as cited in Reuben & Kim, 1975), equifinality is a characteristic or property of open systems. Katz and Kahn (1978) define equifinality as "a system can reach the same final state from differing initial conditions and by a variety of paths" (p. 30). For example, the goal of All India Radio's system might be for people in surrounding countries to learn about Indian culture and thereby form a favorable opinion of India. It might be that AIR uses shortwave to broadcast to its audience. However, it also could use satellite or the Internet to also get its message out. Or, AIR could produce its own spoken word programs to inform people of its culture, or it could use music programming produced by the terrestrial service of AIR. Either way, the audience is being exposed to AIR's broadcasts (final state) by a variety of paths (both in terms of delivery and in terms of different programming content).

Negative entropy. As noted earlier, entropy is a characteristic of a closed system and happens when the system receives no input from its environment. Negative entropy, on the other hand, is characterized by the flow of information

between the environment and the system leading to growth in the system (Miller, 1995). If a radio station insists on broadcasting in shortwave but has no information that the majority of its target audience no longer uses shortwave but listens to FM or uses the Internet, then eventually it will cease to be effective and the government will no longer fund it and the system will die. However, if it adapts to the information and begins to broadcast via the Internet, and via FM translators in its target country, then it will continue to be successful and, it is hoped, grow stronger.

Requisite variety. Morgan (1986) states that "only by incorporating required variety into internal controls can a system deal with the variety and challenges posed by its environment" (p. 91). Miller (1995) says, "the internal workings of the system must be as diverse and complicated as the environment in which it is embedded" (p. 91). If the Australian government wanted Radio Australia to broadcast by shortwave to a few countries in the Pacific in one language, the internal workings of the station would be very simple. The job could be undertaken by very few staff, with a small budget, and the station could probably produce the programming required itself. However, when the task is to broadcast to the Asia/Pacific region in six languages via the Internet, satellite, terrestrial repeaters, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, then the station requires a much more complex internal structure, and also needs to use programming provided by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation because Radio Australia does not have the staff or facilities to provide that much programming.

The framework illustrated in Figure 1-1 shows the radio station as part of a system within an environment of technological and political change. The model illustrates how the station functions in the system, but is also a product of everything from the country that operates it to the environment in which it exists.

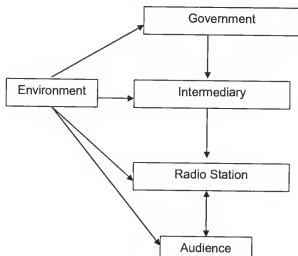


Figure 1-1. International Radio Broadcasting Systems Model

An important perspective in analyzing the system that the stations function in was proposed by Wells (1974), who listed "key dimensions" in understanding any media system. These are finance, control, target audience, programming, and feedback. These dimensions can be used to analyze any media system whether on a local level in a small town in any country, or a national or international level. Although international broadcasting of the type mentioned in

this research was not the focus of Wells' work, the categories are useful and are incorporated in varying degrees into the framework proposed below.

Government

According to Wells (1974), control is the most important factor in describing and analyzing media systems; control in the case of the model in Figure 1-1 is labeled as "Government." In regular terrestrial broadcasting control is usually associated with ownership. McQuail (1994) says that "fundamental to an understanding of media structure is the question of ownership—who owns and how the powers of ownership are exercised" (p. 162). Once ownership is established it is possible to more clearly understand issues such as the content broadcast by the stations. Altschull's second law of journalism says "the contents of the media always reflect the interests of those who finance them" (as cited in McQuail, 1994, p. 162). The government controls the station by providing funding through an agency such as the ministry of foreign affairs. Therefore the content of the programming should reflect, in the case of international radio stations, the foreign policy priorities of the government.

The funding is not uniform for all stations. Some governments provide their station with ample funding while others are continuing to cut back often leaving the station to operate on a less than sufficient budget. One key seems to be proportionality. If a station's funding is cut, but it is still expected to fulfill the same obligations that could make the task harder for station personnel. If the mission of the station is reduced along with the funding, then even a cut in funds could still mean the station has ample money to carry out its goals.

One way to understand the government's commitment to its international radio station is to look at the funding provided to the station as a percentage of the overall expenditure by the government on foreign affairs. This provides at least some insight into the value that the government places on the station as a tool for foreign policy. For example, Radio New Zealand International is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry's budget has increased from \$147 million in 1999 to NZ\$184 million in 2002.⁹ Meanwhile the amount allocated to Radio New Zealand International (RNZI) for its operation has remained stagnant at just over NZ\$1 million (Clark, 2000; New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2003). Even though the budget for the Ministry has gone up, and funding for other organizations has increased, the funding for RNZI has remained about the same, or even dropped a little, indicating that the station is not a high priority for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. One can also analyze how governments use international radio broadcasting by taking a more overarching approach and look at various models of broadcasting.

Hale (1975) writes that international broadcasting can be understood using four models: The Nazi model, the Communist (USSR) model, the American model, and the BBC model. The first two models are fairly self explanatory, and indeed the Nazi model was alluded to earlier in this chapter. However, the American model and the BBC model may seem very similar. For Hale,

the differences between them boil down to a greater American insistence on selling the 'Western' concept of 'freedom' and a greater British insistence on balance (which includes telling the bad as well as the good

⁹At the time of writing NZ\$1 = US\$ 0.56

news) in the long term interests of establishing a reputation for reliability and truthfulness. (p. xiv)

"Objectivity" may in itself be a means of "propaganda." Rawnsley (1996)

quotes Holsti who believes the crucial aspect of propaganda is audience perception of the reliability of the source of the information. The more trusted the source, the more likely it is that the aim of the propagandist will be fulfilled.

Rawnsley (1996) notes that

During the Cold War the Soviet Union repeatedly accused the BBC of engaging in propaganda by claiming to broadcast in an objective manner and without prejudice. In 1952 the BBC candidly admitted to the USIA that this was indeed its method: "You're cheating all the time, of course," BBC personnel told USIA's Ralph White. "What matters is the appearance of objectivity when actually you are not completely objective." In other words credibility, balance and truth are used to sell a political message in much the same way as one would use overt propaganda techniques. Disguise it as news and information and we have what Nicholas Pronay has called "propaganda with facts." For the propagandist the most advantageous feature of operating in this way is that it can neither be proved or disproved as being propaganda. (pp. 9-10)

The American model highlights the degree to which the state feels it has an obligation to monitor and control the content broadcast by the station. Conflict between the United States State Department and Voice of America provides a good example. In October 2001 the VOA planned to air excerpts of an interview with the leader of the Taliban, but this was protested by the United States State Department. The State Department has a seat on the Broadcasting Board of Governors, which controls VOA. Its attempt at censorship was protested by staff at VOA, who said the station's credibility depended on the airing of both sides. Portions of the interview were included in a program in which excerpts from an interview with George Bush were also aired. The crux is that the airing of the interview was delayed 5 days.

The point is that a station proclaiming itself to be the voice of whatever country should be the object of direct government involvement, whereas the BBC, which is not directly tied to the British Foreign Office, should be more neutral, thereby lending credence to Hale's (1975) interpretation of the difference between the two models. However, although the way both organizations operate may be different, the goal is the same leading one to question whether there is really any significant difference between an "American model" or a "BBC model." The categorization of a "BBC model" and an "American model" actually precedes Hale's work. In the beginnings of Radio Australia there was considerable discord between two camps: one that wanted the station to follow the BBC model with little governmental input, and one that favored the American model with more governmental control.

Achieving credibility and impartiality is a constant battle for international stations. Although the identity of the station is inextricably tied to the government that operates and funds it, there is a way for some stations to remove themselves to a certain degree from the government and take on a slightly different identity. This comes when there is an intermediary between the government and the station, sometimes in the form of a national public broadcaster.

Intermediary

The intermediary may be a national broadcasting corporation, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) or the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), or it may be an agency such as the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG). The difference is that both the BBC and ABC are government funded broadcasting organizations able to provide programming, staff, and

training to the international broadcaster, whereas the BBG is more analogous to a board of directors. The BBC World Service, for example, is funded by a grant-in-aid, administered by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the British government. Staff from the World Service and Foreign and Commonwealth Office consult together and decide which languages are broadcast; however, editorial control of the programs is the sole responsibility of the BBC. This editorial control does not exempt the BBC or the ABC from influencing the station. Ultimately, the government still has the power to institute reviews of the station's operation and withhold funding or ask for changes in the languages used to broadcast. However the role of an intermediary such as a national public broadcaster provides a much needed illusion of independence.

Association with the national public broadcaster gives the international station a slightly different identity. The international station reaps the benefits of the reputation that the public broadcaster has and the goodwill it has generated, both at home and around the immediate geographic region or around the world.

However, if the national public broadcaster is itself subject to strict government control, then it may not add much to the international station apart from being a source of programming. All the BBG does is to provide a buffer between the Voice of America and the government, but it does not do much to change the identity of the VOA as a tool of the United States government.

One other intermediary factor to consider are what McQuail (1994) terms "institutional arrangements (such as editorial statutes) designed to safeguard the integrity of editorial policy" (p. 163). McQuail notes that "professionalism, codes of conduct, public reputation (since media are always in the public eye), and

common (business sense) are supposed to take care of the seeming 'problem' of undue owner (or in this case state) influence" (p. 163). Both Radio Australia and All India Radio are tied to the national public broadcaster and, as such, come under the influence of not only their own institutional arrangements but also those of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and All India Radio. The role of an intermediary does not negate the fact that both stations are financed by their respective governments and are ultimately beholden to them. Therefore, no matter what type of barrier there is between the government and the station, the government still has ultimate control because it controls the funding for the stations.

The Radio Station

Operation of the station includes everything from hours of broadcast to languages used, to regions targeted. It is the result of input from the many variables in the system, but it also affects those variables as well.

Browne (1982), in his seminal work on international broadcasting, The Limits of the Limitless Medium, identified eight roles that are useful in understanding the function of the station. The eight are instrument of foreign policy, mirror of society, symbolic presence, converter and sustainer, coercer and intimidator, educator, entertainer, and seller of goods and services¹⁰ (Browne, 1982). That is not to say that each station fulfills only one purpose, rather a single station may for example be an instrument of foreign policy, its programming may

¹⁰Several of Browne's categories including converter and sustainer, and seller of goods and services applies less to government stations and more to independent or religious stations which also use shortwave.

also mirror society, and the programming may also be educational and entertaining.

When referring to international broadcast stations as instruments of foreign policy, Browne (1982) says policy can be divided into two parts: policy making and policy execution. Government-operated international radio stations have no direct impact on the making of policy, but they are used in various ways to execute policy. One way foreign policy is reflected in international radio stations is through the languages the station uses and the amount of time spent on each language. The region of the world that international stations broadcast to reflects the areas of the world that are of particular importance to the host country. Browne says, "If a broadcasting nation is deeply concerned about specific events taking place in another country, it may react by dramatically increasing broadcast hours and/or broadcast frequencies for certain language services, to the point where either or both may be doubled or tripled for the duration of the crisis" (p. 31). Once the crisis is over, the schedule will return to normal and the language service may even disappear altogether.

Hachten (1999) synthesizes the use of international broadcasting stations during the Cold War into two terms: public diplomacy, and international political communication. He defines public diplomacy as "a government's overt efforts to influence another government" (p. 109). International political communication, on the other hand, actually encompasses public diplomacy and is defined as "the political effects that newspapers, broadcasting, film, exchanges of persons, cultural exchanges, and other means of international communication can achieve" (p. 110). Both Browne and Hachten describe the total output of the

station (i.e., the programming that is transmitted over the airwaves or whatever medium is being used). Like any broadcast station, the programming is transmitted with a specific target audience in mind.

Audience

The output of the station affects the audience, which provides the station with feedback that may affect the output of the station. For example, a station may add or remove a program depending on the feedback, or lack thereof, from the audience. The audience may also listen via a variety of different means such as shortwave, the Internet, or via a satellite retransmission of the station's signal. The popularity or availability of a certain technology in a particular target region may lead to the station looking for new ways of getting its signal out to the audience.

The audience is very important to the government as they represent the target of the government's foreign policy goals. No broadcaster can be effective without an understanding of its target audience, and international radio broadcasters are no exception. Radio Australia's stated target audience is "national opinion leaders" (see Chapter 4). This may be a broad categorization, but it does help to focus the content of the broadcasts. In its efforts to reach into the Asia-Pacific region with programming putting Australia in the best possible light, national opinion leaders are obviously people the powers that be believe are most important in influencing others in their particular country. Understanding the target audience is important in understanding why a government would even fund international radio broadcasting. A clearly defined target audience may be a sign of a government that has a clear purpose for its

station, whereas no clearly defined audience may mean the government is just going through the motions with no understanding of the effectiveness of the medium.

Environmental Forces

The variables continually affecting the whole systemic loop are labeled "Environmental Forces." This may include an upheaval in the local political system such as the military coup in Fiji or ethnic unrest in Indonesia. This could lead to a change in foreign policy priorities for the government, and also change in the programming of the station. Change could come on a larger political scale such as the end of the Cold War. Change could also be the introduction of new means of distribution such as the Internet.

The Internet is part of the justification provided by the BBC World Service for cutting broadcasts to North America and the Pacific (Save BBC World Service, 2002). McQuail (1994) points out

That changing communication technology causes change needs little argument, since it is obvious that media institutions have developed around a succession of different technologies which constantly open up the potential for new markets and undermine old ones. Even this process of change is usually managed as far as possible, to avoid major disruption to the industry. . . . The rise of new technology does not usually eclipse old media entirely but causes them to adapt to the new market conditions. (p. 169)

The Internet (new technology) has not eclipsed shortwave as the medium of choice for international radio broadcasters, but it has added a new dimension. As above, the Swiss have elected to use the Internet as the sole medium for transmission of their international programming. However, this is a function of their former and current role in the world system as much as anything else. New

technology such as satellite and the Internet have also opened up the potential for new markets or audiences to international broadcasters and undermined older ones, although the degree to which old markets have been undermined may be a matter of opinion. For example, one could make the case that the BBC World Service's decision to end shortwave broadcasts to the Americas and the Pacific and rely on the Internet and relays over domestic stations is an example of markets being undermined.

By the same token, stations taking advantage of satellite and the Internet are able to reach audiences all around the world who may have previously not listened to the station, or who wanted to but were unable to because the station did not transmit to a certain region. Radio Australia's broadcasts its English language service in real time over the Internet. Because it is a regional broadcaster listeners in parts of the world outside of the Asia/Pacific region were not able to hear the station. Now through the Internet they are able to listen live, or listen to previously recorded shows at their leisure.

In summary, the systemic model attempts to explain and illustrate the many variables that come in to play and influence the output of the international radio station. The station is not an isolated island; it is the product of the system it is a part of. Not only is the station influenced by the many variables, it has the capacity to influence a single person listening to the station's broadcasts. That influence could in turn lead to something major such as the overthrow of a regime.

Germany, the Soviet Union, and Britain first used international broadcasting as a tool for foreign policy. Later the United States joined them.

These are the countries that have led the world political scene, and these are also the countries that are primarily studied when it comes to analyzing international broadcasting.

The present research examines the use of international radio broadcasting by two regional powers, Australia and India, and their respective stations, Radio Australia and All India Radio External Services Division. These are two countries that both have their broadcasting roots with the BBC, with both stations being operated by the national terrestrial broadcasting service rather than directly by the government. Due to their size, both countries have used shortwave to broadcast internally as well as externally. Finally, both countries have interests in the Pacific island nation of Fiji; Australia because of geographic proximity and its responsibility to the Pacific region, and India because of the large ethnic Indian population in Fiji. Fiji has come to the world's attention during the early 1990s and in 2000 due to the military coups that have taken place there. The coups have their roots in ethnic tension between indigenous Fijians and the Indian population. The coups have also highlighted the importance of shortwave broadcasting both to citizens of Fiji, and to Australia and India.

This chapter has described the questions guiding the research of this dissertation and provided necessary background. Chapter 2 examines the relevant literature reviewed for this research. Chapter 3 describes the methods used for this dissertation. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by their respective governments. Chapter 6 contains conclusions and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the literature pertinent to the use of international radio broadcasting by regional powers. The chapter begins by reviewing literature on general systems theory, international relations theory and constructivism, and regional and middle powers. This is followed by a review of propaganda, international broadcasting and government policy, and finally shortwave broadcasting in Asia and the Pacific.

General Systems Theory

Pullen (1987) in research on general systems theory labels Von Bertalanffy as the founder of the systems approach. Pullen stresses the notion of self organizing and hierarchically emergent properties of open systems. He says Von Bertalanffy was critical of the move toward positivism, behaviorism, and reductionism, looking instead toward man's subjective and symbolic capacity as the foundation of human science.

Systems theory seeks common patterns of organization (including structure, function, and meaning) in both the natural and cultural worlds (Queen, 1986). Queen says the theory has a high level of generality, which is expressed in the principles of integration, adaptation, emergence, and hierarchy. He also notes that systems theory attempts to move toward a more humanistic approach and transcending artificial boundaries separating the sciences and humanities.

Reuben and Kim (1975) edited General Systems Theory and Human Communication, a compilation of articles looking at various aspects of systems theory. The book includes the philosophy and basic concepts of systems theory, and human communication in systems perspective.

Systems theory is not a widely used approach in communication research, but several scholars have included it in their research. Miller (1995) in Organizational Communication: Approaches and Processes spends a chapter outlining general systems theory and its usefulness in understanding organizations. Also, other mass communication theorists (McQuail, 1994; Severin & Tankard, 2001; Infante, Rancer, & Womack., 1997) have addressed communication and systems theory.

General systems theory has proved useful in many other disciplines, including philosophy (McKercher, 1993, Scott, 1986), medicine (Banks, 1992), chemical dependency treatment (Burns, 1993; Littleton, 1996), education (Caroff, 1984, Schaefer, 1980), political science (Pullen, 1987), archeology (Plog, 1975), sociology (Richards, 1992), nursing (Littleton, 1996, Banks, 1992), religion (Queen, 1986), and business (Mayer, 1996).

Having looked at general systems theory, which provides the framework for the research on the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by their respective governments, the next section examines international relations theory and its role in helping understand the identity of states in the world system.

International Relations Theory: Constructivism

An important premise of this research is that states do not operate in isolation but are part of a world system and have a specific identity or identities in that system. Therefore, the way states use their international broadcasting

stations is based on the state's identity and a state's relationship with other states in its region or in other parts of the world.

The fundamental premise of the IR theory of neorealism is that states exist in a state of anarchy and that their actions toward each other are based on self-interest and the need for a balance of power or, as Walt (1987) argues, a balance of threats. However, various IR scholars, while acknowledging the importance of paradigms like neorealism, believe there is a better way of explaining the relationship between states. These scholars have borrowed from social science disciplines like philosophy, sociology and anthropology to look at the influence of identities, norms and culture on international relations.

Alexander Wendt (1992) writes that "social theories which seek to explain identities and interests do exist. Keohane (1969) has called them 'reflectivist'; because I want to emphasize their focus on the social construction of subjectivity and minimize their image problem, following Nicholas Onuf I will call them 'constructivist'" (p. 393). Wendt (1992) notes that a fundamental principle of constructivist social theory is that

people act toward objects, including actors, on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them. States act differently toward enemies than they do toward friends because enemies are threatening and friends are not. Anarchy and the distribution of power is insufficient to tell us which is which. (pp. 396-397)

Wendt also talks about the idea of identity confusion and mentions that with the end of the Cold War to help define the identities of both the United States and the Soviet Union, "these states seem unsure of what their 'interests' should be" (p. 399).

Ted Hopf (1998) says understanding the concept of identities at an international and domestic level is important because it ensures "at least some minimal level of predictability and order" (p. 174). He speculates that without an understanding of identities the world would be full of chaos and uncertainty. He says that identities have several important functions: "they tell you and others who you are, and they tell you who others are" (p. 175). He says the major difference between constructivism and neorealism is "constructivism treats identity as an empirical question to be theorized within a historical context [whereas] neorealism assumes that all units in global politics have only one meaningful identity, that of self-interested states" (p. 175). There are many factors that go into developing a state's identity. Hopf lists history, culture, and political and social context as all contributing to the formation of identity.

Weldes, Laffey, Gusterson, and Duvall (1999) add the dimension of culture to the constructivist debate. As they note, culture is a difficult term to define, but it is important because culture plays a pivotal role in the construction of states' identities. The study of culture in IR has come very much to fore due to the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, neorealism was riding high; there was a bipolar world, and obviously the issue of power and self-interest was at the center of international relations. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, Weldes et al. believe that neorealism has been found wanting, and instead scholars have "discovered the significance of cultural phenomena for understanding and explaining international politics" (p. 4). Weldes et al. are proponents of the notion of the social construction of reality. As an example, they talk about "the social construction of the Soviet threat" (p. 12). They are not saying that there is no

such thing as nuclear weapons nor that the Soviet Union was incapable of using them. What they argue is that the Insecurity felt in the relationship with Russia was as much a product of social construction as anything else. They borrow from Wendt in talking about how people act toward objects or other people based on the meaning of the objects. Their point is that the meanings we assign objects are all socially constructed, a product of cultural forces. As another example of the impact of social construction on culture, Weldes (1999) looks at the notion of crisis. She says, "crises are cultural artifacts" (p. 57). According to Weldes, "The representations that constitute a crisis are produced in and through cultural processes and out of cultural resources—that is, in and through the 'codes of intelligibility'—that both construct the reality we know and endow it with meaning" (p. 57). Weldes goes on to show how the notion of identity is also wrapped up in the issue of crises.

Whether a state views a certain situation as a crisis depends on the identity of the state. However, a crisis may also give the state an identity. She explains that for a state to understand its own identity there has to be a state that is different. The usual example is the United States and the USSR, which had diametrically opposed ideologies. The identity of the different state is, according to Weldes (1999), turned into "otherness" (p. 59). If the name USSR did not have such nasty connotations, then it would not threaten the United States' identity, and in turn its actions that may affect the United States would not be seen as a potential crisis. The point is that identity, culture, and norms are not necessarily straightforward ideas, but they are concepts that have a significant bearing on international relations

Christian Reus-Smith (1997) summarizes what seems to be the fundamental premise of constructivism and the whole idea of identity, norms, and culture. He writes that societies and states are products of different cultural and historical contexts. States, like people, are a product of many different forces including cultural forces that shape a state's identity and the way it relates to other similar and different states. The cooperation between states is in turn facilitated by the various norms that are part of the international system.

This dissertation uses the term regional power as an identifier for two specific countries: Australia and India. Using a label such as regional power, great power, or middle power implies a specific identity; that is, a role for a specific state or group of states within the world system. However, the way a state may see itself could well be different from how others see it. America may see itself as the defender of freedom and democracy, but the Taliban may see it as an intruder or a warmonger. Hopf (1998) in an article on the role of constructivism in international relations says,

The neorealist assumption of self-interest presumes to know, a priori, just what self is being identified. In other words, the state in international politics, across time and space, is assumed to have a single eternal meaning. Constructivism instead assumes that the selves, or identities, of states are a variable; they likely depend on historical, cultural, political, and social context. (p. 176)

Hopf goes on to point out that state interests are important and are a product of identity. He notes, for example, "the identity 'great power' implies a particular set of interests different from those implied by the identity 'European Union member'" (p. 176). States have multiple identities and "constructivist theory precludes acceptance of pregiven interests" (p. 176).

If, as Hopf points out, a state can have more than one identity, then the use of the term regional power merely implies that the countries concerned have expertise in, and a responsibility in some way for, a particular geographic part of the world. So, a country's identity as a regional power is only part of the equation. To get a more complete picture it is necessary to look at a country's role on the systemic level.

Regional and Middle Powers

Australia and India have been termed "middle powers" (Cooper, 1997, 14). This refers to their role on a systemic level. Although such terminology is not focal to the description of the two states, it is an aspect of their identity, and helpful in understanding the country's role in the world system.

Keohane (1969) looked at the "systemic role" that states play. He said there were four types of states: system-determining states, system-influencing states, system-affecting states, and system-ineffectual states. He stated that these could also be referred to as great, secondary, middle, and small powers. The key, according to Keohane, is that middle power states "cannot hope to affect the system acting alone [but] can nevertheless exert significant impact on the system by working through small groups or alliances or through universal or regional international organizations" (p. 295). At the time, he listed Canada, Sweden, Pakistan, Brazil, and Argentina as middle powers.

There have been studies conducted of middle powers, but they have led to criticism particularly in the type of countries chosen to study. Cranford Pratt

(1990)¹ and others focused their research on Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden. Andrew F. Cooper (1997) is critical of the way Pratt and his colleagues, in studying middle powers and "humane internationalism," determine which country is a middle power. Cooper writes, "The subjects in these studies constitute, in fact, only a small section of actors, in particular 'like-minded' developed northern states" (p. 14). He says countries left out include Australia, India, Brazil, Indonesia, Nigeria, Malaysia, Argentina, Turkey, and South Africa, which have all been included on lists of middle powers by virtue of their "in-between position in the international hierarchy" (p. 14). It shows if nothing else the difficulty in labeling states, particularly states that are not great powers but are in no way on the periphery.

Cooper (1997) quotes former Canadian Ambassador Stephen Lewis, who takes exception to the idea that middle powers are only useful as a means of providing balance in the world system and creating harmony. He writes that middle powers

should act as an uncompromising voice when they think the major powers are going too far, rather than behave as uncritical allies. We need a group of countries that believe in internationalism, above all, and that can be counted on to support multilateral institutions and agencies. (Lewis as cited in Cooper, 1997, p. 7)

Again the emphasis is on collectivism and that on their own these countries have little influence, but together exert a much greater force.

The whole issue of maintaining balance of power is very much a realist notion. Cranford Pratt (1990) says, despite the obvious links to realism, the way

¹Pratt's observation on middle powers is included later in this paper.

middle powers should operate is, in fact, contrary to the tenets of the realist theory. Pratt talks about how wealthy countries have a moral and ethical duty to help those countries that are less well off, or that are suffering from poverty. He says that this concern for the welfare of other countries is contrary to the basic assumptions of realism. He notes that the premise of realism is that the states operate independently of each other, looking to enhance their power so that their interests will be protected. They operate in an atmosphere of anarchy with no governing body to ensure that their interests are protected. Pratt says that, contrary to this school of thought, states are very dependent on each other. He also says there is a

real risk that realism becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy for citizens of rich countries. It elevates to an unchallengeable principle the undeniable tendency of states to pursue their own interests. It ignores the obligation of states to reflect in their foreign policies the ethical concerns of their citizens. And it does not adequately recognize the obligation to help to consolidate and to advance the emerging international law relating to basic human rights. (p. 13)

Pratt writes,

[These countries are] aware that they dare not use their lesser status as a reason to allow the major issues relating to war and peace to be settled entirely by states more powerful than themselves. They must seek to influence how these issues are managed internationally. (p. 14)

Pratt says it is not surprising that the five states² he researched are concerned with the maintenance of major political and economic institutions. After all, "these institutions provide a structured environment within which middle powers are more likely to be influential than in a more anarchic arena in which

²The Netherlands, Canada, Denmark, Norway, Sweden

the manipulations and assertions of power by the major powers would tend to determine outcomes" (pp. 14-15).

What is clear is that middle powers, however they are defined, have an important part to play in the world system. The key in a uni-polar world is to find an identity or, as Cooper put it, a niche. This identity may be a product of a country's role in the past, it may be a product of its geographic location, or it may be a product of the culture of the country. If nothing else middle powers can play a role in helping to balance the system, lending credence to the Waltz's (1959) interpretation of the world as an anarchic system made up of states concerned with the balance of power.

Hocking (1997) writes that "the distribution of power within the international system helps to determine the degree of influence that middle powers are capable of exercising and the character of their role" (p. 134). However, playing a role as a power balancer hardly creates a unique identity. Therefore, other roles must be explored. Changing a country's identity involves more than changing the foreign policy of the country; it means changing the attitudes of the population, something that is not so easy.

This section has examined how international relations theory, and specifically constructivism, helps researchers understand states and the state's identities. It has also looked at literature regarding middle and regional powers. The next section focuses on research focusing on the use of international broadcasting by individual states.

Propaganda and International Broadcasting

Robert Stevenson (1994) in Global Communication in the Twenty-First Century notes that in many Western countries propaganda has a "pejorative connotative meaning" (p. 346). He says in some countries it may be translated as advertising or public relations, but usually the social meaning includes some element of deception. Stevenson says the negative framing of the word propaganda stems from two events:

The first was the Catholic church's "Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith"—*Congregatio de propaganda fide* in Latin – was established in 1622 to counter the Protestant Reformation. It led to the Inquisition, whose members were, to say the least, unsympathetic to independent-minded skeptics such as Galileo. The second was Lenin's definition of propaganda as a legitimate function of the party media. From both sources, we get the idea that we ought to be alert for propaganda and suspicious of anyone who is out to win our hearts and minds. (p. 346)

According to Severin and Tankard (2001) Harold Lasswell's study Propaganda Technique in the World War was one of the first attempts to define propaganda. Lasswell (1927) defined propaganda as "the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumors, reports, pictures, and other forms of social communication" (p. 9). Lasswell said that there were four major objectives of propaganda: "To mobilize hatred against the enemy, to preserve the friendship of allies, to preserve the friendship and, if possible, to procure the cooperation of neutrals, and to demoralize the enemy (p. 195).

About 10 years later, Lasswell (1937) refined his definition to read, "Propaganda in the broadest sense is the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations. These representations may take spoken,

written, pictorial or musical form" (p. 521-522). Lasswell influenced communication research through his research into propaganda techniques which paved the way for theoretical thought about the general effects of mass communication, and about attitude change (Severin & Tankard, 2001). While Lasswell's work was not solely about international broadcasting, there are other authors who have focused on the relationship between international broadcasting and propaganda.

Martin (cited in Fischer & Merrill, 1976) saw propaganda as a function of a government, defining it as "a persuasive communicative act of a government directed at a foreign audience" (p. 262). Martin believes that the most money is not spent by propagandists on propaganda, but on "facilitative communication" (p. 263). Facilitative communication would constitute what many international radio stations engage in including radio newscasts, press releases, and artistic and cultural programs. This type of communication serves no other function than to create "a friendly atmosphere, or, as a psychologist might put it, a favorable affect" (p. 263). He believed that the majority of government-funded communication is not propaganda and that even if it was, governments would never label it propaganda because of the negative connotations associated with the word. Martin said he thought most governments engaged in international communication because they thought it was the thing to do not because it was necessarily effective.

John Tusa (1990), former Managing Director of the BBC World Service, says there are two views about how international radio broadcasting should be used: idealistic and ideological. In his view idealistic broadcasts are peaceful

and are summed up in the founding of the BBC World Service, where Lord Reith called radio "an instrument of almost incalculable importance in the social and political life of the community. Its influence will more and more be felt in the daily life of the individual, in almost every sphere of activity, in affairs national and international" (as cited in Tusa, 1990, p. 4). Tusa views ideological as propaganda, and it is typified by the broadcasts of Radio Moscow and Nazi Germany in the 1930s. Tusa says, "Moscow [directed] its broadcasts to serve one political purpose—the class war; and Berlin projecting the single will of the leader throughout the world to serve its own ends" (p. 6). Tusa defines propaganda as

broadcasting wholly at the service of the state, wholly in the hands of the government and wholly intended to serve the policy aims defined by state and government. It is the broadcasting of persuasion, the broadcasting of a world where black contrasts with white, the broadcasting of friend verses foe, the broadcasting of a Manichean world where those who are not for us are against us and the purpose of the broadcaster is to change the latter into the former. (p. 15)

Rawnsley (1996) has a similar idea as to what constitutes propaganda in terms of international broadcasting. He writes in Radio Diplomacy and Propaganda that propaganda is "the attempt by the government of one state to influence another to act or think in ways which are conducive to the interests of the source by whatever means are considered appropriate" (p. 8).

Robert Stevenson (1994) says that in the study of governmental activities and a government's effort to reach and influence people overseas, the term propaganda is seldom used. Instead, the favored term is public diplomacy. Stevenson notes that public diplomacy differs from other types of governmental communication, traditionally from an embassy to a foreign ministry, because it

"represents the efforts of one *government* to influence the *people* of another country" (p. 347). Stevenson notes that shortwave broadcasting falls under the domain of public diplomacy, but so do libraries, cultural centers, educational exchanges, publications distributed overseas, and even "get acquainted tours of the homeland for VIPs" (p. 347). In terms of size, he states that the United States operates one of the largest public diplomacy programs in the world at an annual cost of about \$1 billion.

Philo Wasburn (1992) looks at how the audience perceives messages received through international radio broadcasting. He notes,

In cases where media audiences simply do not attend to the constructed nature of media accounts of politics, they are likely to label such accounts news. When they are more aware of their constructed nature, they are more likely to label such presentations editorials. When audiences understand media accounts of political phenomena as constructed explicitly to serve political goals, particularly goals they do not share, they are more likely to label such presentations propaganda. (p. xx)

Cole (1998) notes that propaganda can be looked at "according to the channels and techniques by which it is disseminated, by its objectives, and by means by which its objectives are delineated and achieved" (p. 622). Cole says the most useful way to examine propaganda is by the "public or group activity" (p. 622) it attempts to influence.

Ellul (1965) says propaganda influences the political and social activities of groups and can be divided into two categories: political propaganda and social propaganda. Other types of propaganda fall under either political or social propaganda. Both political and social propaganda can be disseminated by either official or unofficial agencies. Cole (1998) says political propaganda is "selective and manipulative communication by governments, political parties, or pressure

groups with a view to influencing the political behavior or beliefs of the public (p. 622). Conversely, social propaganda is an attempt by "organizations or institutions to influence the social behavior of the public" (p. 622). This includes human rights, civil rights, health, education, and many other areas.

Cole (1998) goes further in sub-dividing propaganda into a number of other categories including ideological, military and war, diplomatic, cultural, ethnic, economic, public health, and educational. He notes that propaganda does not necessarily have to be true or false and that scholars have argued, and continue to argue, the merits, or lack thereof of propaganda.

International Relations theorist, E. H. Carr (1964), refers to propaganda as power over opinion. He notes that absolute power over opinion is limited because there needs to be some conformity with fact. Carr says Hitler condemned German propaganda during World War I as futile because it portrayed the enemy as ridiculous and contemptible; something the German soldiers in the trenches discovered was untrue. Carr says education promotes "a spirit of independent inquiry" which is one of the strongest antidotes against propaganda (p. 144). Carr also believed that because of "the inherent utopianism of human nature" (p. 145) propaganda is not always effective. He writes,

It is a basic fact about human nature that human beings do in the long run reject the doctrine that might makes right. Oppression sometimes has the effect of strengthening the will, and sharpening the intelligence, of its victims, so that it is not universally or absolutely true that a privileged group can control opinion at the expense of the unprivileged. (p. 145)

Having presented the ways that several scholars have viewed propaganda, particularly as used by the government in the context of

international broadcasting, the next section reviews the literature on the use of international radio broadcasting by governments around the world.

International Broadcasting Worldwide

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Hale (1975) and Browne (1982) provide a useful look at various models or uses of shortwave stations over the years. Hale is most concerned with showing how international broadcasting is used for propaganda. He describes the subtle propaganda of the BBC and the more overt propaganda of the Nazis and other broadcasters.

Browne has written about various models of shortwave broadcasting and has written possibly the most comprehensive analysis of the history and uses of international broadcasting via shortwave. He looks at the various ways governments have used international broadcasting throughout the years and the strengths and weaknesses of the medium. His purpose is to increase awareness of international broadcasting and provide a platform for future research.

International broadcasting has been used as a tool of executing government foreign policy over the years, particularly during times of conflict. Brewer (1991) wrote about how the British during World War II based the content of their propaganda broadcasts to America on an analysis of American foreign policy making, and the role of public opinion in that process. She illustrates how the goal of the British was to build favorable opinion among Americans for a special relationship between the two countries.

In Radio Diplomacy and Propaganda, Rawnsley (1996) looks at the relationship between the BBC World Service and VOA and their use by their

respective governments during 1956-64. The book includes a good overview of the history of international broadcasting and its use as a tool of public diplomacy.

Alexandre (1985) examined VOA's role in foreign policy and public diplomacy. She notes that over the years VOA was committed to promoting positive attitudes about the U.S. and reinforcing negative opinions about the Soviet Union and its allies. She says while the style of broadcasting has changed its purpose is still the same. She shows that problems occur internally among staff members when a station like VOA attempts to be both the official government voice and an objective source of news.

Some authors have written about the history of a particular international broadcaster like Radio Canada International (Hall, 1973), Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (Critchlow, 1995), and the BBC World Service (Walker, 1992). Several authors have written about the Voice of America (VOA). Articles chronicle the first 22 years of the station (Pirselin, 1970), the broadcasting rivalry between Cuba and the United States (Frederick, 1984), a study of the VOA's Arabic service (Ayish, 1986) and a comparison between the VOA, BBC World Service, and Radio Moscow (Bookmiller, 1992).

Frederick studied the rivalry between the United States and Cuba and their respective stations, Radio Havana Cuba and the Voice of America, from 1961 to 1983, and compares newscasts between 1979 and 1982. He found that VOA often carried reports criticizing U.S. policies but RHC never criticized Cuban policy. VOA was also more concerned with U.S. affairs while RHC appeared more outward-looking, focusing on events in many smaller countries. RHC also paid much attention to nongovernmental organizations, while VOA did not.

Ayish found that the philosophy of VOA's Arabic Service lent itself more to objective journalism than blatant propaganda. The author used various methods including content analysis, conversations with employees, and historical analysis. His studies supported the idea that despite being a vessel of U.S. foreign policy, there is a concerted attempt at providing objectivity in the Arabic broadcasts.

In looking at how international broadcasting has changed since the Cold War, Bookmiller (1992) analyzed Radio Moscow, VOA and the BBC World Service before and during the Cold War and then examined the status of the stations after 1989. Bookmiller writes that Radio Moscow is somewhat weaker both in output and in terms of infrastructure, while the BBC and Voice of America are stronger in some ways than they were during the Cold War. Bookmiller notes that the BBC is less defined ideologically because it was founded before World War II and for reasons that were not solely ideological. Such reasons include the use of the station as a vehicle for providing news and information to British citizens living in the colonies.

Zhang (1996) looked at the impact of VOA newscasts on Chinese intellectuals in the 1980s. He conducted a telephone survey and intensive interviews with Chinese students and scholars now residing in the United States. All of these people would have been in the target audience for VOA newscasts. Zhang found that VOA had an impact on their thinking, and they generally viewed the station favorably. Because of the intellectual nature of these individuals, however, the station was used more as a reference point and source of information.

Krugler (1997) took the time period 1945 to 1953 and looked at the Congressional Republicans' interest in VOA during this time. He examined the Republican agenda, how it monitored programming and personnel, and how it led inquiries to find subversives and evidence of fiscal waste. Krugler says his research shows how Republicans used the anti-Communist consensus to shape domestic goals that were in place before [Truman's] containment strategy was promoted.

In his dissertation looking at VOA news, Moffett (1987) noted the most crucial factor in ensuring that VOA adhered to the principle of objectivity in news was the VOA charter. This document made Voice of America the only institution in the United States legally mandated to present objective news. Other defenses against bias included rigorous internal controls including two sources for every story, and rigid policy on what type of material may or may not be covered. He found that such defenses shielded VOA from overt interference, but government control of managerial appointments increased the possibility of interference. His study recommended that VOA become a nonpolitical independent agency.

Another U.S.-sponsored station that is the focus of many studies is Radio Marti. Gallimore (1992), examined legal, theoretical, and policy issues raised by the existence of Radio Marti and questioned the rationale of stations like Radio Marti not being able to broadcast into the United States. The author states that a station not being able to broadcast into the United States contradicts the First Amendment and the ideal of free information flow which is the justification used by the United States for international broadcasting. Warlaumont (1986), in

another study on Radio Marti, compared the strategies used by the United States in the U.S.-Cuban radio war compared to strategies used in the U.S.-USSR radio war. Churchill Roberts (1992) wrote an article contrasting Radio Marti with previous U.S. international radio services. He noted that unlike Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and even VOA, Radio Marti provided a great deal of entertainment programming, or soft propaganda, intended to create goodwill between the service and the audience, and also create an audience for the news broadcasts.

Churchill Roberts (2000) looked at the various U. S international broadcasters, their philosophy, and their changing role following the end of the Cold War. He notes that as long as there are places in the world where information is strictly controlled by the government, there will be a need for the type of programming provided by the American and other international broadcasting stations.

Critchlow's Radio Hole-In-The-Head (1995) gives an insider's view of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The book provides a good understanding of the early years of the service and the issues faced by those working for the service including how to get the signal into the desired countries, the type of programming needed, and problems with obtaining accurate feedback from listeners behind the iron curtain.

Several theses, dissertations, and papers (King, 1973; Kushner, 1976; Van Deusen, 1968) have been written about the use of shortwave for religious broadcasting. Organizations like HCJB, Trans World Radio, and Far East Broadcasting Association have for years used shortwave to broadcast various

types of programming to countries around the world. The majority of the work has focused on the stations' efforts in broadcasting to Africa, while King conducted a survey and analysis of the three organizations.

Wood (1994, 2000) has compiled a unique work on international broadcasting. His two volumes on the history of international broadcasting are informed by the author's involvement in the industry, and his visits to many stations. The books are unique as they examine many different international stations, but also look at technical issues such as the types of transmitters used by the different broadcasters through the years, as well as the companies that manufacture the equipment. The work is very thorough and the author adds a much needed dimension to the body of literature on international broadcasting.

The previous section dealt with research conducted about specific international broadcasters worldwide. This next section focuses specifically on literature dealing with international broadcasting in Asia and the Pacific, the two regions of interest to this dissertation.

Shortwave, Asia, and the Pacific

Compared to the volumes written about radio broadcasting in general, the amount of work on shortwave radio is relatively small. It is not surprising, then, that research on shortwave in the Pacific and Asia, and particularly Radio Australia and All India Radio, is almost nonexistent. In fact, most of the research about All India Radio has focused on aspects of the use of the internal side of AIR (Chakravarty, 1994).

Probably the most authoritative work is This is All India Radio written by Baruah (1983). Baruah was a Director General of All India Radio and wrote the

book to provide politicians, listeners, and new staff members with a complete understanding of all aspects of the organization. He has one chapter on the external services and although the book is informative it is also dated. Some of the policies and practices are still relevant, but for the most part the book is better thought of as an historical resource.

In one of the few books about shortwave broadcasting in the Pacific, Radio Wars, Hodge (1995) looks at the history and uses of Radio Australia from its inception to the book's publication. The book provides insight into the workings and the mindset of management over the years. The book's value lies in its in-depth analysis of the historical foundations of the station. The other great value is its recency. Events covered include Radio Australia's role in the first Fiji coup. The coup is also covered by Ogden and Hailey (1988) and their article demonstrates the importance of international broadcasters to the Pacific region.

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) is the body responsible for Radio Australia. Thomas (1980) has chronicled the first two decades of the ABC. In his work he describes the beginning of Radio Australia and provides some valuable insight into the political struggles in the early days of the station.

On a more general scope, Lent (1978) edited a book dealing with broadcasting in Asia and the Pacific. Lent takes a very thorough look at the broadcasting systems in the various countries of these regions. There is some focus on the external broadcasting services of the various countries, but it is more of a side issue. The book is now 20 years old and is more of an historical work than a cutting edge analysis. Seward (1999) has more recently surveyed the role of media and politics in the Pacific. In particular, Seward examines the

role of local radio, paying attention to the role international broadcasters play in the flow of information in the region. He shows how local stations provide news for regional news services and the international broadcasters, and then also use services provided by the international broadcasters.

One other work of note covering international broadcasting and the Pacific was written by Richstad (1987) of the East-West Center in Hawaii. He conducted an extensive unpublished survey on broadcasters in the Pacific and his results are contained in a report entitled "Use of International Broadcasts in Pacific Island Radio Services: Dependency? Cultural Imperialism? Practical Necessity?" It is an extensive analysis of local and international broadcasters in the Pacific. The survey analyzes how international broadcasters' programs are used by the local stations, and why. He found that international broadcasting services such as Radio Australia were very important to South Pacific broadcasters as a source of news and of programming. These services were particularly valuable, as the local broadcasters often had no funds for wire services or for purchasing programming.

In one of the few studies on All India Radio, Daniel (1995) looked at the way news was shaped on VOA, BBC World Service, and All India Radio (AIR). Three points emerged from the study. The first was that BBC and VOA editors pay a lot of attention to objectivity. Finding two suggested that AIR editors respect the ideal of objectivity but acknowledge an influence from national policy. The third, and somewhat weaker, factor was that VOA and BBC editors were cynical about the idea of cultural imperialism. However, what is lacking is a

history of the AIR and a holistic approach to the problem showing the role that issues such as culture play in international news broadcasting.

Two other sources of interest on international broadcasting and the Asia-Pacific region are The World Radio and Television Handbook (WRTH, 1997) and The Commonwealth Broadcaster magazine. The WRTH is a valuable source of information about international and national broadcasting throughout the world. The handbook provides a listing of all radio and television stations in countries around the world with contact information. It also focuses heavily on international broadcasting with broadcasting schedules, frequencies, and technical information. On the other hand, The Commonwealth Broadcaster provides information on the British Commonwealth countries and broadcasting, and is a valuable source of information and analysis. The magazine contains articles dealing with issues the stations face and with the state of broadcasting in various countries. The magazine has a web site (www.cba.org.uk) that contains broadcasting news from around the Pacific region. The next chapter looks at the methods used for this research.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

This chapter looks at the methods and sources used in this dissertation. It examines why qualitative methodology is important in answering how and why Australia and India are using their international radio stations. The chapter begins by stating the questions to be answered and why qualitative methods are the best way of answering those questions. This is followed by a section on the use of qualitative research to analyze mass communications, and how it applies to the research of the two radio stations. The chapter then looks at the methods used to conduct research on Radio Australia and All India Radio. The final section describes some of the sources used in conducting the research.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is all about meaning or as Pauly (1991) says "qualitative studies investigate meaning-making" (p. 2). For those using a qualitative method, whether it is in-depth interviews, focus groups, participant observation, or some other type of research, the goal is to answer the "why" question. It is not enough to know that some phenomena took place, or that there is some relationship between a dependent and independent variable.

The two questions that form the basis for this research are

- Q. 1 How are regional powers using their international radio stations in the post-Cold War era?
- Q. 2 Why are regional powers using their international radio stations in the post-Cold War era?

As noted earlier these are broad questions. In order to answer them it is necessary to answer the following more detailed questions.

1. How has the development of technology such as satellites and the Internet influenced, or changed, the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by Australia and India?
2. How do regional and world political events influence the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by their respective governments?
3. In what way(s) is international radio broadcasting a useful means of international communication for the Australian and Indian governments?
4. To what extent does the programming and target audience of Radio Australia and All India Radio reflect their country's foreign policy?
5. To what extent are Radio Australia and All India Radio independent of government influence in their operation?
6. What role does Radio Australia's and All India Radio's charter play in governing how Australia and India use the stations?
7. To what extent is a nation's use of international radio broadcasting an important tool in establishing the nation's identity to listeners in the region and/or the world?

As was illustrated in the Chapter 2, there has been very little work done on international radio broadcasting and particularly not on stations operated by regional powers, or on how a station is influenced by the system that it functions in. Because of the dearth of literature the current research is very much exploratory and descriptive in nature. Yin (1994) states that there are several ways of doing social science research including case studies, experiments, surveys, histories and archival analysis. He says in deciding what method is most appropriate researchers must look at "(a) the type of research question, (b) the control an investigator has over behavioral events and (c) the focus on contemporary as opposed to historical phenomena" (p. 1).

Case studies was the favored method in the research of Radio Australia and All India Radio and their use by Australia and India because the goal was to answer a "why" and a "how" question. An experiment can also be used to answer such questions, but to do so requires that the researcher has control over behavioral events; something that is not possible with the research being conducted on international radio broadcasting. In addition, a survey could have been conducted, but the type of questions asked for a survey include who, what, where, how many, and how much. These types of questions are "most advantageous when the research goal is to describe the incidence or prevalence of a phenomenon or when it is to be *predictive* about certain outcomes" (Yin, 1994, p. 6). A survey would have been useful if the goal of the research was to survey all of the countries using international radio broadcasting or to survey a representative sample of listeners to a station to find out why they listened. However, that would remove the context that is essential in building a more complete picture. Qualitative research methods were chosen because the goal of the research is not to generalize any findings to a specific population as a whole. Rather the research carried out and the findings generated are contextual.

Qualitative Research and Mass Communication Analysis

Pauly (1991) writes that experienced qualitative researchers study mass communication in one of three ways: as a product, as a practice, or as a commentary. The best research integrates all three aspects, and the following section describes what each aspect is, and how they apply to Radio Australia and All India Radio.

Product

Product refers to the examination of the output of a mass media organization, for example news stories or television shows. In the context of this dissertation it is the programming broadcast by the stations. The qualitative researcher interprets these programs as texts, not as materials with a clear message, moral, or value.

In order to know what the product is, the author listened to broadcasts from Radio Australia via the Internet, in part to check the content with the program description listed on the web sites, but also to gain an understanding of production quality, who the presenters were, and what topics were covered. Newscasts from All India Radio were listened to via its web site. Unfortunately, this was the only form of audio available from AIR as shortwave broadcasts are not directed at the United States and the author was not able to pick-up any broadcasts with his shortwave receiver. However, the author did contact other shortwave listeners, both hobbyists and broadcasters, who provided descriptions of the program content, and their opinion of the programs (details of how and why these particular people were contacted is provided later in this chapter).

Where possible, this information was cross checked against other documents to verify the listener's assertions. For example, one listener told the author that film music appeared to be one of the most popular components of All India radio's programming. This assertion was confirmed by other documents obtained by the author.

Practice

Treating mass communication as a practice emphasizes a cultural process; that is, how culture affects the putting together of the product or how the quest for revenue affects the content of the product. In the case of Australia and India, and their radio stations it is important to understand the foreign policy of the two countries and how that affects the programming content, or the product of the stations. By understanding the foreign policy, it is possible to more fully appreciate the languages used by the stations in their broadcasts, and the inclusion of various types of programming. Neither All India Radio nor Radio Australia have the quest for revenue as their bottom line; therefore, it is important to understand what the motivation is for the use of these two stations. Both stations are owned and funded by their governments; therefore, it is important to understand the foreign policy interests of their governments and how that affects the content of the product. Both stations also come under the influence of domestic public service broadcasters, so it is important to understand how the identities of the stations are shaped by that relationship, and consequently how that relationship affects the product.

Commentary

Commentaries on mass communication may look at how the media are a reflection of society. A key aspect of both Radio Australia and All India Radio is that the programming content reflects the culture of the host nations. In many respects, this is where the notion of public diplomacy comes in; the programming is an attempt to influence the people not a government. By their programming, it seems that both stations feel the way to make their countries more appealing to

the listeners is by broadcasting programming that reflects all aspects of society. This includes news, sports, music, and other forms of entertainment. Both stations are attempting to reach listeners in their respective target regions with programming that is nonthreatening; in this way, each country appears more appealing and more human.

It is one thing to look at the product, but a more effective understanding of why the product is the way it is can be understood when looking at the station through the lens of its reflection of society. This helps the researcher understand why it is important to include certain types of programming and not others.

This research integrates all three of Pauly's (1991) aspects of analysis in the study of how and why Radio Australia and All India Radio are used by their particular governments. The following sections more fully explicate what methods were used to conduct the research.

Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research

Reliability and validity do not apply very well to qualitative research simply because cultures change, times change, and people change. What works in one context may not work again. The way countries use their international radio stations may well change tomorrow depending on events in the region and the world. Indeed, Voice of America and the BBC World Service added language services and changed their focus once events in Afghanistan escalated. Additional languages were added and programming was altered to focus on that region.

Qualitative research also depends on the human-as-research-instrument, so little is gained, according to Lindlof (1995), in terms of reliability. Lindlof writes

that validity is also tricky in qualitative research: "A world constructed of multiple realities does not permit the researcher to identify any single representation as the criterion for accurate measurement" (p. 238). The need to generalize is also moot because the qualitative researcher "studies social action and cultural sensibilities situated in time and place" (p. 238).

Sampling

Sampling in qualitative research is not conducted using random probability where every person in a certain population has an equal chance to be selected. In qualitative research "sample selection intentionally biased toward those 'information-rich cases' likely to reveal the sense-making processes and structures of interest to the analyst" (Lindlof, 1995, p. 126). The nonprobability sampling method used most frequently by the author to contact listeners and broadcasters familiar with Radio Australia and All India Radio was "snowball sampling." Lindlof (1995) writes that "snowball sampling uses a person, usually an informant, as a source for locating other persons from whom a type of data can be generated, who then refer the researcher to other persons, and so on" (p. 127). Lindlof notes that a strength of this method is "its efficiency in finding sites or persons whose attributes are central to the research problem" (p. 127).

The author organized and moderated a panel of academics and international radio professionals for a national conference. Two of the panelists were Patrick Bureau, Marketing Product Manager for Radio Broadcast, Thales Broadcast and Multimedia, and Dr. Kim Andrew Elliot, a producer, presenter, and researcher at Voice of America. Both Bureau and Elliot provided the author with information about their dealings with Radio Australia and with other broadcasters

around the world. They suggested the author contact Roger Broadbent at Radio Australia. The author contacted Broadbent who was able to provide some very important information about Radio Australia and who then put the author in contact with listeners to Radio Australia from around the world. Some of those listeners also listened to All India Radio and were able to provide some information on programming for that station. One listener also mailed programming information to the author.

The author used the Google search engine and the keywords "All India Radio external and shortwave" to search the Internet. One of the results from the search was a web page hosted by a shortwave hobbyist who had visited stations in India. The author contacted this listener asking for information about, or contacts within, All India Radio. That listener forwarded the message to a Yahoo Discussion group devoted to Indian radio. The original message from the author was also forwarded to other shortwave discussion groups and the author received responses from various listeners and from a shortwave broadcaster in England with whom the author was able to interview by phone, and who mailed the author information pertaining to All India Radio. The author was also contacted by a journalist in India who provided some information and was able to connect the author with a person working for Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India).

Methods

It is important for qualitative researchers to have data that are believable. The readers of studies conducted using qualitative methods need to have confidence that the right interpretations were reached. There are several

methods qualitative researchers use to attempt to arrive at plausible interpretations (Lindlof, 1995). Triangulation, negative case analysis, and member checks are those particularly applicable to research on the radio stations. What follows is a brief description of these methods and how they were used to ensure valid and reliable research material.

Triangulation

Triangulation involves analyzing and interpreting more than one type of evidence. Triangulation can involve multiple sources, multiple methods, or multiple investigators. Even if triangulation provides different outcomes, it may be that the different methods lead to different interpretations of the same event. For example, in a study on VCR use, Lindlof (1995) used analysis of a diary, interviews with participants, and observation to understand whether the operation of a VCR was the domain of the male in the home (p. 239).

Triangulation in the study on Radio Australia and All India Radio necessitated finding at least two other independent sources to corroborate the information from the first source. It also involved using more than one type of evidence. For example, All India Radio newscasts were listened to (these were earlier referred to as the product). After listening to the newscasts, the author read transcripts of the newscasts and conducted a content analysis of the type of stories covered. The researcher then read documents governing All India Radio news stating what was and was not acceptable in the coverage of news (what Pauly referred to as practice). Finally, the researcher interviewed a former news editor with All India Radio and an employee of the Ministry of External Affairs to obtain his perspective as an employee of both the station and the government

department responsible for foreign policy (this is a combination of practice and commentary). By using different methods including content analysis, textual analysis, and interviews, the researcher was able to garner a much clearer understanding of why the news was presented the way it was.

Similarly, the researcher read government press release interviews with government ministers and other documents from the late 1990s describing the cuts in funding and staff at Radio Australia. He also read the report from the person who chaired the committee urging the change in funding. The researcher then read press reports from around the region at that time to gain an idea of how the media perceived the cuts and what reaction there was to the cuts. Finally, the researcher read transcripts from an interview with the General Manager of Radio Australia detailing in depth his perspective on what happened and how it changed Radio Australia. Finally, the researcher also communicated with a staff member at Radio Australia and with listeners to the station for some of their thoughts on what happened at the time of the cuts. These are all multiple sources and multiple methods used to provide a complete picture of what happened when the government cut funding for the station.

Negative Case Analysis

A negative case analysis is where, as a researcher develops a hypothesis, new data are put to the test of the hypothesis. If the new data confirm the hypothesis, it becomes stronger; but if the data disconfirm the hypothesis, the analyst restructures the hypothesis to fit the new data. The researcher keeps comparing data to the hypothesis until no more negative cases are left. This

method serves to develop a correct interpretation of the phenomena being examined.

Again, an appropriate example is that of the All India Radio newscasts. Having concluded the content analysis, the researcher made several observations based on hearing the newscasts and reading the transcripts. Then, after reading the guidelines for news content on All India Radio, the initial hypothesis was confirmed. Finally, information from the interview with the newscaster necessitated that the researcher alter slightly the hypothesis in order to fully reflect what was occurring.

Member Checks

A member check often comes near the end of fieldwork and is a process where the interpretations of the researcher are critiqued by members of the group or culture (insiders) and outsiders (to the project). This may also add new information or insights to the project (Lindlof, 1995). Member checks serve as a form of cross-reference where interpretations the researcher has made while conducting fieldwork can be validated by members of the group being studied.

Member checks in terms of the study on All India Radio and Radio Australia served also as negative case analysis in instances. The researcher used insiders (current or former staff members of the stations) to critique the interpretations being made as well as outsiders (in some cases listeners to the stations) to critique what was stated. This served to confirm or disconfirm observations made by the researcher.

Case Studies

Case studies were created from the research conducted on Radio Australia and All India Radio. Case studies can be classified into explanatory, exploratory, or descriptive studies. This dissertation encompasses all three aspects. It explains how and why the stations are being used by their governments, it is very much exploratory in nature as no such research has been conducted previously so there are no previous findings to guide the research, and it is descriptive in that the research describes the relationship between Radio Australia and All India Radio and the other parts in the system: the environment, the government, the intermediary, and the audience.

The case study is a comprehensive strategy encompassing many different types of evidence, using a triangulated method, and benefitting from "the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis" (Yin, 1994, p. 13). Yin (1994) also notes that case studies as a method have been maligned by those who may argue that this method is not rigorous or reliable, especially when compared to quantitative research methods. According to Platt (1992), case studies have been seen as ideal for exploratory research but that experimental research was the best way to conduct explanatory or causal research. Case studies were not seen as the best way to test or describe propositions.

In terms of generalizability, Yin (1994) states that the case study itself does not represent a sample and therefore cannot be generalized to any specific population. However, the case study can be used to expand and generalize

theories. And, the information gleaned from a case study can be used to enhance further research into a given area.

This research uses general systems theory to describe the systems in which Radio Australia and All India Radio operate. From that theory, a framework and model was developed to describe how and why Radio Australia and All India Radio are used by their respective governments. The results of the research cannot be generalized to other parts of the world, but it can be used to aid in the understanding of how and why governments use their international stations. It can also be used to show how looking at international broadcasting from a systemic perspective aids in understanding the many influences on an international radio station.

The author used a number of sources to obtain information about international radio broadcasting, and more specifically about All India Radio, Radio Australia, and their respective governments. The next section looks at the sources used to gather research material.

Sources

Interviews and E-mails

Interviews were conducted via the telephone, face-to-face, and via e-mail. E-mail was a useful tool in gathering information. The writer was able to contact the subject as questions arose throughout the study and the subject was able to provide information back to the author at the subject's convenience. For example, if the author asked the subject a question and the subject did not have the information readily available, the subject had the freedom to find out the information and get back to the author. E-mail also provided the writer with the

ability to print out the answers to questions from the subject. The downside is that the subject may not always be diligent about finding out the information, and may need to be reminded. E-mail was also used as a means to make initial contact with people. Most of the people stated to the author that they would prefer to correspond via e-mail unless more information was sought.

E-mail also enabled listeners to the various stations to be able to contact the writer. For example, an employee at Radio Australia mentioned on his radio program about the author's work and invited listeners to contact the author via e-mail with information. The employee also contacted people he knew who were reputable and knowledgeable in international broadcasting suggesting that they contact the author. Many of these listeners lived overseas and in remote areas such as the Canary Islands or Africa. E-mail was a convenient and cost-effective way of the listeners contacting the author. In addition, some of the people were traveling, and it was impossible to contact them by phone. E-mail made it more convenient to contact them.

There are, however, several negatives associated with the use of e-mail. The researcher is not able to verify the person is who they say they are, particularly when receiving e-mails from listeners. In many cases, the author relied on the fact that although he did not know the people personally, they were known by a third party (such as the employee of the radio station) who was able to vouch for them.

There are also concerns about security and confidentiality of e-mails. Although this did not appear to be a factor in many of the communications, it is a legitimate concern. Respondents may be unwilling to completely share their

opinion for fear that it may cause ramifications from an employer. Also, while it is possible to gain some idea of a person's feelings from an e-mail, it is impossible to note changes in one's voice, hesitancy in responding to a question, and other emotional expressions.

List-Servs

A review also was conducted of List-Servs¹ regarding shortwave radio. The List-Servs provide interesting discussion of topics regarding shortwave broadcasting. List-Servs also provide links to documents and articles, and also primary documentation that may not be available elsewhere. Some of the people involved are editors of publications or employees of international stations and have valid and important observations. Permission was sought from individuals if their personal opinion was used. There was never a case where a person did not give permission for their opinion to be used. However, should that have occurred, and depending on the importance of the opinion, the researcher would have not used that material, or sought a way to use the opinion without identifying the source. Where an e-mail provided a link to an article or other means of information, then the citation for the article or web page was cited.

In the case of India, a news/discussion group provided some extremely valuable contacts and information. Participants in this group are individuals interested in broadcasting in India. They frequently post schedules,

¹List-servs are electronic mailing lists where a user subscribes to the list via e-mail and is able to send and receive messages from others on the list. List-servs are often organized around a specific topic and are useful for the exchange of ideas or information regarding the topic.

programming information, and other data that are public knowledge but difficult to obtain.

Internet, Newspapers, Books, and Journals

Information was gathered from newspaper articles about the stations or about the state of international broadcasting in general. The terrorist attacks in America on September 11, 2001, brought an increased number of newspaper and magazine articles about the virtues, or lack thereof, of international broadcasting.

Policy documents and programming documents were obtained from the web sites of the various organizations and from listeners to the two stations. The web sites of All India Radio (<http://www.indiaradio.com/>), Radio Australia (www.abc.net.au/ra), The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (www.abc.net.au), the Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (http://www.dcit.gov.au/Subject_Entry_Page/0,,0_1-2_1,00.html), The Indian Ministry of Communication (<http://mib.nic.in/>) were used extensively. Documents obtained from these web sites included annual reports, charters, and policy documents. Both the Australian and Indian governments produce reports each year that review the foreign policy of the government, its priorities and its relationships with other states. Many of these documents were in the form of .pdf files. Some of the information from these sites was taken at face value; but, as noted earlier in the section on triangulation, every effort was made to cross check all information used with other sources to ensure accuracy.

Finally, as mentioned in Chapter 2, books dealing exclusively with international broadcasting were also valuable. Books such as Passport to World

Band Radio (Magne, 2001) and the World Radio and Television Handbook (1997) provided information on schedules, programming, and an understanding of the culture that is international broadcasting. Information gleaned from these books also served to validate the credentials of people on list-servs or other news groups the author used to gather information. Some of the people wrote articles in the books, served in an advisory capacity to the authors or publishers of the books, or were themselves included in the articles.

Having discussed the methodology and sources used to gather data, the next chapter is a case study on the use of Radio Australia by the Australian government. The chapter starts with a brief historical overview of the station followed by an analysis of the use of the station based on the criteria mentioned in Chapter 1.

CHAPTER 4 AUSTRALIA AND RADIO AUSTRALIA

This chapter examines the extent that the Australian government's foreign policy goals are reflected in the charter and programming of Radio Australia.

The first section of the chapter describes the evolution of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade over the years since Australia gained independence from Britain. The section also contains an overview of Australia's treaties, alliances, and foreign aid structure and priorities. This is important as it shows which regions or population groups are important to Australia so it can then be determined how, or if, those groups are also targeted through the programming on Radio Australia. This is followed by a section outlining the history of Radio Australia. These two sections provide a context and a foundation for the model that describes the system in which Radio Australia operates.

The final section of the chapter describes and analyzes the role of government ownership in Radio Australia's operation; the role of an intermediary between the government and the station, which, in this case, is the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), the parent company of Radio Australia; the program philosophy of, and programming offered by Radio Australia, and the role of external influences on Radio Australia.

Australian Geography, History, and Demography

Australia is an island continent located in Oceania between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. The total land area of the country is around 7,686,850 square kilometers, or by comparison, almost as large as the contiguous 48 U.S. states (see Figure 1).



Source: CIA World Factbook, 2001a

Figure 4-1. Map of Australia

Through the years Australia has played a pivotal role in the world system particularly as regards defense. Australia suffered greatly in World War I with 60,000 deaths and in World War II with around 27,000 casualties. Australia's geographic location meant it was involved in Asia and the Pacific, but it also came under the threat of invasion and northern parts of Australia were bombed

during World War II. According to the Australian Department of Defense, WWII led to the development of a new friendship as

Australia's traditional great-power ally, the United Kingdom, was defeated in Asia and soon reassessed its security role in the region. This led Australia to look to another 'great and powerful friend', the United States. Thus began Australia's most important defense relationship since the end of the Second World War. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002c, p. 3)

Department of External Affairs

Following independence from Britain in 1901, the Australian government created seven government departments including the Department of External Affairs, which was responsible for immigration and territorial issues. Although Australia had gained independence, the United Kingdom largely conducted external affairs (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002b, p. 1). By 1919 Australia began to reach out to other regions, with the decision that "an Australian Trade Commissioner should be immediately appointed in Egypt and anywhere else in the Near or Far East and other places where opportunities for trade appear to offer" (p. 1). Other trade commissioners were appointed to the East Indies, Mesopotamia, China, Japan, India, South Africa, South America, and Siberia.

In 1935 the Department of External Affairs became a separate Foreign Office, and in 1939 began administering the overseas diplomatic service. Also in 1939 a "Department of Information was established in Acton, Australian Capital Territory, the first institutionalized effort to promote Australia internationally" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001a, p. 1). According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, at the outbreak of World War II the Department of Information consisted of 29 permanent staff. Overseas representation comprised an officer attached to the British Embassy in Washington, and another whose job was

liaison with the Foreign Office in Washington. It was not until 1946 that Australia officially had an embassy in Washington, DC.

In 1970 the Department of External Affairs was renamed the Department of Foreign Affairs, and it reorganized to reflect issues rather than geography in 1974. In 1987 it merged with other departments to become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Aid, Alliances, and Treaties

Some of the treaties that have been signed and efforts at cooperation with other countries in the Asia-Pacific region are important in illustrating the climate in which Radio Australia operates. Australia's aid program is a key component of Australia's foreign policy and shows which countries or regions have been or are foreign policy priorities for the Australian government.

Foreign Aid

Following independence, and after establishing that it was able to function on its own, Australia began to formulate and implement a foreign policy and to distribute foreign aid. The initial beneficiary of this aid was Papua New Guinea, a country under Australia's administration. By the 1950s the major recipient of aid was still Papua New Guinea along with India. In addition, Australia's foreign aid policy began to be more focused (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001b).

According to Year Book Australia, 2001,

by the mid 1950s, aid decisions continued to be strongly influenced by political considerations, but as more countries became fully independent, and with changing international perceptions, the motives underlying the Australian aid program began to change. Due to Australia's historical links to Papua New Guinea, aid to this country remained at two-thirds of the total aid program. In the 1960s South-East Asia gradually gained more importance than South Asia, with Indonesia overtaking India as the

second largest recipient of aid. Progressively Australian aid became no longer tied to countries that were members of the British Commonwealth. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001a, p. 1)

In the 1960s and early 1970s various development agencies were formed to assist with the dispersion of aid to countries in need. In 1970 less than 10% of Australian aid went to multilateral organizations, compared to over a quarter of all aid today. In addition, Australia began to refine its aid program and, rather than it being administered by several government departments, it was brought under the umbrella of the Australian Development Assistance Agency later to be known as the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001a).

By the 1980s Australia refocused its aid program even more and began to provide aid for individual countries based on three main objectives: humanitarian assistance, support for Australia's strategic interests, and promotion of Australia's commercial position (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001a, p. 2). The government decided that the geographic focus for aid should be Papua New Guinea, the South Pacific, and South-East Asia. Australian foreign aid policy focused on several areas including agriculture, infrastructure development, health, population planning, and urban development (p. 2).

In 1996 a government-commissioned review led to "the adoption of a single clear object for the aid program: to advance Australia's national interest by assisting developing countries to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001a, p. 2). Papua New Guinea, the South Pacific, and East Asia were the areas of priority for aid, with particular focus on health, education, rural development, and governance. Two specific

developmental issues that were highlighted were "the promotion of gender equity and the maximization of environmental sustainability" (p. 2). Australia gives around US\$250 million annually to countries in the Pacific region.

Bilateral Relations

The countries Australia is most actively involved with are those countries, "which are influential in shaping Australia's strategic environment, as well as being significant trading and investment partners" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002a). Leading the way is Australia's relationships with the United States, Japan, China and closer to home, Indonesia. Other important relationships are those with the other states of the Association of South East Asia Nations¹ (ASEAN), the European Union and its member states, the Republic of Korea, and New Zealand and Papua New Guinea.

Australia's strong ties with the United States benefit both countries as it "reinforces Australia's practical commitment to the Asia-Pacific region, as well as strengthening the engagement of the United States in the region" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002a, p. 1). The U.S. is Australia's second largest trading partner behind Japan and the largest source of investment. Japan is also ranked first as a source of in-bound tourism.

Australia's relations with China are developing, and the Australian government believes China's relationship with Australia, Japan and the United States is crucial for maintaining long-term peace and security in the region. Since 2001 efforts have increased to encourage Chinese participation in dialogue

¹ASEAN member states are Brunei Darussalam, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

over regional security. China is Australia's third largest merchandise trade partner, and although the two countries "do not always share the same view . . . regular dialogue and government-to-government exchanges have been established on a range of issues—from human rights to security issues—in a bid to discuss differences of opinions" (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002a, p. 2).

Indonesia is one of Australia's closest neighbors and although relations have been strained due to the conflict in East Timor, efforts are being made to repair the damage. According to the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) Annual Report 2000-01 (2002),

the department, including through the Embassy in Jakarta, worked steadily in 2000-01 to rebuild a constructive and realistic relationship with Indonesia based on mutual respect and wide-ranging, practical cooperation. . . . In our discussions with Indonesian government during the year, we conveyed Australia's strong support for democratic, constitutional processes and for human rights in Indonesia. Australian development assistance was targeted to support these objectives. (p. 15)

In 1999 Australia led the multinational peacekeeping force in East Timor handing the responsibility to the United Nations as the elections took place in 2001. Australia continues to be one of the largest donors of aid to the fledgling state. Australia also led an International Peace Monitoring Team to the Solomon Islands due to ethnic violence in that region. It also played a role in restoring peace in Fiji and in Papua New Guinea.

Radio Australia

Radio Australia is one of the oldest government owned international broadcast stations in the world. At times it has enjoyed strong support from the government, while at other times it has come perilously close to being shut down.

This section examines the history of Radio Australia and its relationship with the Australian government.

Radio Australia History

Radio Australia began shortwave broadcasting in 1939 after a request from the British for help in countering propaganda being disseminated by the Germans. The Australian government agreed to the request but could not decide who should control the new service. Eventually, several government agencies cooperated: The Department of Information would prepare the content of the programs; the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)²² would provide the broadcast personnel and translation services to present the programs, and the Postmaster-General's Department, would take care of technical matters (Thomas, 1980). The service officially began broadcasting on December 20, 1939. Prime Minister Menzies opened the station noting,

Our reasons for establishing broadcasts of this kind may be quite simply stated. We have decided that over some of the propaganda stations to which you listen, so many strange things are said, not only about Australia, but about the whole of the British Empire, that the time has come to speak for ourselves. . . . My purpose is to tell you something about Australia and the war. Something about why it is that although we are twelve thousand miles from Europe we are nevertheless involved in a European war and in full partnership with Great Britain and its conduct. (as cited in Hodge, 1995, p. 8)

The broadcasts always began with the sound of a native Australian bird, the kookaburra, and with broadcasts in English, French, German, Dutch, and Italian. Initial broadcasts focused on parts of Europe, India, South Africa and the Americas. As is typical of any international station, the languages used, and the

²² The ABC is a body governing public service broadcasting in Australia and funded by the government.

areas of the world targeted depended on the priority of the Australian government. These priorities changed according to developments in the war.

Disagreement continued throughout the war as to which department was best suited to control the station. The ABC wanted control because it had experienced staff that could put together professionally sounding programs. In addition, there would be less chance of governmental interference if the ABC had control. The Department of Information felt the ABC, as a public service broadcaster, would be beholden to the Australian taxpayers who would be unlikely to want to spend money on a service targeting an overseas audience. This would increase the chance the station would be eliminated or given less of a priority than a government department would give it (Thomas, 1980).

By 1941 the ABC was responsible for news broadcasts, but the Department of Information was in charge of all propaganda. The government created another department a year later to coordinate the propaganda war against Japan. The Political Warfare Committee included staff from the Australian Chiefs of Staff, Department of Information, Department of Defense, and External Affairs. Thomas (1980) points out that at times it was difficult to know which department was responsible for what task. He quotes a letter from William Ball, the controller of the shortwave division of the Department of Information:

Off the record, I get a bit annoyed with all these discussions about the right machinery for political warfare. We have in our own way, and often in a pretty poor and amateurish way, been carrying on political warfare for two and a half years. If we waited till we had got the right machinery we would never have done anything. (as cited in Thomas, 1980, p. 15)

Radio Australia was beset with a number of problems that influenced the scope of the broadcasts. Money for the shortwave service was not readily available, and there was little qualified staff available, particularly with expertise in foreign languages.

There were also technical problems. Radio Australia was broadcasting with transmitters of 2 kilowatts (kw) and 10 kw. In contrast, the "enemy" (Thomas, 1980, p. 117) had transmitters of 50 kw and 100 kw. Despite these many obstacles, Radio Australia broadcast in "French to Indo-China, in Mandarin to Chungking, in Malay and Dutch to the Netherlands East Indies, in Thai to Bangkok, and in Japanese to New Guinea and the South Pacific" (p. 117).

The broadcasts were mainly news bulletins and short programs that seemed to capture aspects of Japanese culture while defeating the Japanese morale. The broadcasts contained reports that the Japanese leadership was dishonorable, and that surrender would not be inconsistent with personal honor (Thomas, 1980). Unlike many other countries, Australia also used the shortwave medium for internal broadcasts. This meant that listeners in "enemy countries" (p. 117) could also hear the domestic service of the ABC. This caused problems for those coordinating the propaganda efforts. The director of information at the time Japan entered the war was Charles Holmes. He noted to a colleague that "it is inevitable that many news bulletins and commentaries which it is perfectly proper and desirable to broadcast to Australians are not all adapted for the presentation of the Australian scene to overseas listeners" (as cited in Hodge, 1995, p. 20). According to Hodge (1995) even though shortwave bulletins were submitted to the censor for clearance, there were discrepancies between

broadcasts on the internal and external services, and the Japanese made the most of it. He writes,

In a commentary about fighting in the Solomons in late 1942, the shortwave service was careful not to report that the main airfield had been badly damaged, Japanese troops had made another landing, the Japanese had superiority in tanks and aircraft, the Americans needed reinforcements and the situation was critical. But an ABC news bulletin broadcast on domestic shortwave reported all these details, and Radio Batavia, in enemy occupied Indonesia drew attention to the contrast in the tone of the two broadcasts. (p. 21)

Another problem faced by the Australians was that two contradictory messages were being broadcast over shortwave. On the one hand, Australia wanted to broadcast reports to the Japanese emphasizing Australian victories and painting a bleak picture of Japan's war efforts. On the other hand, the Australian government wanted more aid from the United States. Australia, in its shortwave broadcasts reaching the United States, did not want to appear too confident and in control in case the Americans got the idea that Australia did not need United States aid. Hodge (1995) makes the point that the awareness of the contradictions and discrepancies in the shortwave broadcasts, forced "the Australian propagandists to be reasonably consistent in the story they told to their audiences in Asia and the United States, [and] helped to 'keep Radio Australia honest' and, by enhancing its credibility, probably increased its effectiveness among its target audiences" (p. 22).

In 1942 control of Radio Australia was given to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, but control of political policy for the station, which amounted to most of the broadcasts, rested with the Department of External Affairs. What little influence the ABC had over Radio Australia ended in 1944

when responsibility for Radio Australia was placed in the hands of the Minister of Information. As has been noted, the Australian government used Radio Australia during the war as a tool to aid in its war efforts, particularly in Asia. However, Hodge (1995) notes that following the war Radio Australia was used in a new way: "as an instrument of [the government's] immigration policy (p. 27).

Radio Australia's broadcasts painted an enticing picture of Australia, with its English-language broadcasts designed to attract foreigners to settle in Australia. The British were the primary targets for immigration, but broadcasts in German and Dutch were also framed in a way to attract people to leave behind the turmoil and ruins of Europe and settle in Australia.

By 1950 the administration of Radio Australia shifted from the Ministry of Information back to the Australian Broadcasting Commission. However, a battle over control continued; this time over the model of broadcasting. On the one side were officials in the Department of External Affairs who wanted Radio Australia to model itself after the American system where the international stations were under government control. Those espousing this view saw Radio Australia solely as a tool of foreign policy and perhaps as one of the most important tools for Australia in the Cold War effort. The Minister of External Affairs in the early 1960s felt the compiling of news should not be left just to journalists and that more attention should be paid to Australia's national interests (Hodge, 1995). On the other side were those from the ABC who favored the BBC model where the station appeared to have a degree of autonomy and therefore was less closely tied with government propaganda and more with

objectivity. This included not just broadcasting the government's point-of-view, but also criticism of the government by the opposition.

Program guides from the 1950s and 1960s show Radio Australia programming not only targeted Asia and the Pacific but also targeted Britain, other parts of Europe, and North America. In addition special attention was paid to Australian forces overseas (Australian Broadcasting Corporation Online, 2003b). In 1967 Radio Australia broadcast "Forces' News" seven days a week. This 15-minute newscast was described as "a special bulletin of news with a home-town flavor" (ABC Online, 2003d). "Forces' News" was followed immediately by "Forces' Requests" which was described as "Margaret Wood answers your letters and plays your musical requests as well as passing on messages from sweethearts, families, and friends" (ABC Online, 2003d). These special programs for Australian military personnel targeted Saigon, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand.

Even though Radio Australia is under the auspices of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, the battle for ideological control of the service has continued. Since the 1970s, whenever there was a crisis, particularly in the Asia/Pacific region, the demand has been for Radio Australia to revert to an output resembling the American model. In times of relative peace, it seems as if the BBC model has been favored.

Radio Australia continued broadcasting without any major problems until the mid 1990s when it was decided that the Australian Broadcasting Corporation needed to be reviewed. The Australian government commissioned the Mansfield Report, an independent review conducted by prominent Australian businessman,

Robert Mansfield, examining the effectiveness of the ABC. At the time, the government sought a more focused and effective role for the ABC (DCITA, 1998b). More specifically, the government desired to cut the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's budget, and Radio Australia, with its focus on external audiences, was deemed an area that was expendable.

Recommendation 18 of the Mansfield Report dealt with international broadcasting:

- That the requirement for the ABC to broadcast programs to audiences outside Australia should cease;
- that the ABC should retain the ability to transmit programs outside Australia if it chooses;
- that the ABC should be permitted to apply net savings from the closure of Radio Australia to the achievement of its savings target-this should include any transmission savings, consistent with the Government's commitment to fund the ABC directly for its transmission costs; and
- that if an appropriate commercial arrangement for the operation of Australia Television is not entered into before June 1997, the service should be closed down (DCITA, 1998b).

The cutbacks resulting from the report reduced the number of language services offered by Radio Australia from nine to six, and staff from 144 to 66. Transmitters were shut down and then sold off to a religious broadcaster from England. According to Jean-Gabriel Manguy, the Radio Australia Network Manager, for a while Radio Australia all but disappeared. Manguy reflecting on that period in the station's history noted

However there was, from the government circles in Canberra, the realization that it was important to maintain at least a Pacific service. So Radio Australia for a while was going to survive with its Pacific service and that includes our English language and Pidgin broadcasts. Then the ABC Board had a hard look at the situation and felt that although the transmitters to Asia were to be switched off it was still important to keep a

production capacity for Asia and a decision was taken to keep some of our Asian language services. And that's what we were left if you want on 1st July 1997 with a Pacific service which was pretty much intact although our own production capacity in English was severely curtailed and a much-diminished Asian service, but a service without transmitters. So that was the hard reality of 1st July 1997. (ABC Online, 2002b)

T. R. Rajeesh, a student in India, listened to Radio Australia in India, but the cutbacks meant he had to stop listening to the programs he enjoyed. Rajeesh says, "Closing down of Darwin transmitters and [program] reduction due to heavy budgetary cuts in 1996 really caused for the loss of good [programs] as well as they are not heard with good signals even in my area. I restarted listening in 1999 using good receiver" (T. Rajeesh, personal communication, July 27, 2002).

In May 1998 on the ABC radio station 3LO, radio broadcaster Jon Faine interviewed the Minister for Communications and Arts, Richard Alston, about the ABC budget. What follows is a transcript of the portion of the interview that talked about the cuts affecting Radio Australia:

Faine: Alright [sic]. And briefly, two other matters both of which are very important and shouldn't be dealt with briefly. In particular, Radio Australia. Senator Alston, at the moment Jakarta is in turmoil, it looks as though things are going to be very, very difficult in Indonesia over the foreseeable future. There's nuclear explosions being detonated by the Indians and the Pakistanis are being begged by President Clinton not to respond. Radio Australia is not broadcasting. For less than \$2 million the Cox transmitters could resume transmission.

Alston: Well, I'm not sure that that's right. But if you're talking about Australians not getting adequate coverage, then we had the first 10 minutes on Channel Two last night. If you're talking about Indonesians or expatriate Australians somehow getting the Australian view of what's going there, I would have thought they'd be well able to judge that for themselves and they can get it from around the region, they can get it from the BBC. So they don't need a unique Australian perspective on their own difficulties.

Faine: Well, we could talk about that over in greater length on another occasion but you're unmoved at the moment over the plight of Radio Australia and its transmissions?

Alston: Well, I don't regard it as a plight, Jon. It's simply the fact that Mansfield pointed out that Radio Australia's audience has declined dramatically over the last 15 years. It is using essentially outmoded technology. The ABC itself gave it a very low priority.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said it was ineffective, and in those circumstances, when the Board decides that it won't provide funds for that particular aspect but rather much further a field, then I think we're justified in saying that when you've inherited a \$10.5 billion budget deficit and you've got to make cuts across the board—we've never singled out the ABC—then there are some decisions that have to be made that some people mightn't like. (Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts, 1998a)

John Gabriel Manguy said that as a result of the changes with Radio

Australia the station lost not just employees but many listeners. He said that

... for months afterwards we were receiving letters and people were telling us where have you been, where have you gone, why don't you talk to us anymore. That was a significant reaction from Asia in particular. You know don't you like us anymore, don't you want to talk to us anymore. From one day to another a whole audience disappeared. (ABC Online, 2002b)

As ethnic unrest grew in the South Pacific and Indonesia, the Australian government began to backtrack on its decision. In 2001, Radio Australia received good news from the government when it announced the station would receive up to AUS\$9 million over 3 years for shortwave broadcasting to South-East Asia. The decision was prompted in part by pressure from the Asia-Pacific region and continuing political turmoil in the region. The original decision to cut funding was made by Communications Minister Richard Alston following recommendations in the Mansfield Report. Australia's Foreign Minister, Alexander Downer, was never completely comfortable with the cuts to Radio

Australia and was instrumental in restoring funding. In a joint statement Downer and Alston said, "Recent events have highlighted the value of Australia's international broadcasting activities in conveying accurate news and information to the region as well as providing an Australian perspective" (Canberra restores station's funding, 2000, p. 9). The statement was a complete backdown by the Australian government. Since the earlier cut in funding, Radio Australia had not been heard west of Bali except by those able to access the station via the Internet. Now, by virtue of its strong signal, Radio Australia has established a prominent presence in the Asian and Pacific regions.

The irony of the situation is that when the cuts took place the government sold off the Cox Peninsula transmitter site in Darwin, which was the main site for broadcasts into Asia. Once the funding was increased Radio Australia has had to lease time from that organization so as to use Radio Australia's former transmitters to broadcast back into Asia. In addition Radio Australia also uses BBC facilities in both Singapore and Taiwan to more effectively cover the region.

Systems Model

This section begins with a diagram illustrating the system in which Radio Australia operates. The section includes a description and analysis of the different parts of the model to explain how Radio Australia is used by the Australian government, and other factors that influence the output of the station. The model shows that Radio Australia does not operate in isolation, but is a part of a system that affects it in many different ways. At the top of the model is "Government" because the government enables the continued existence of Radio Australia and its foreign policy gives the station a reason for existence. As

long as the government can use the station to further its objectives then Radio Australia will continue to exist.

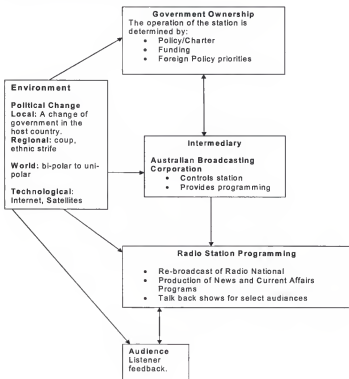


Figure 4-2. Radio Australia systems model

In the middle is a category labeled "Intermediary." This represents the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), the parent company of Radio Australia. The ABC is a public service broadcaster that receives its funding from the government and in turn funds the operation of Radio Australia.

At the bottom of the model is category titled "Radio Station." This encompasses everything from the languages used to broadcast to the programming produced, and the means of delivering that programming to the target audiences.

Influencing the government, the ABC, and Radio Australia are two categories labeled "External Influences" and "Audience." External Influences are the political changes on a local, regional or world level affecting, for example, the foreign policy of the government, or the programming of the station. This category also covers technological change that may affect the way the government or the ABC uses Radio Australia. The audience category is important because it provides a feedback component whereby the audience can respond to the programming of Radio Australia.

Description and Analysis

Government Ownership—Foreign Policy

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) provides some funding for Radio Australia and is responsible for reaching out to other countries on behalf of Australia. If Radio Australia is a tool of foreign policy, then the policies of the DFAT directly affect the goals and operation of the station. The DFAT has five goals:

- to enhance Australia's security.
- to contribute to growth in Australia's economy, employment and standard of living.
- to assist Australian travelers and Australians overseas.
- to strengthen global cooperation in ways that advance Australia's interests.

- to foster public understanding of Australia's foreign and trade policy and to project a positive image of Australia internationally.

The department uses a number of means to achieve these goals, but it seems that, on the face of it, Radio Australia could be very useful in helping the department meet its objectives. However, there is more to it than just putting a station on the air. There must be clear objectives for the station and those objectives must line up with the foreign policy priorities of the country. Although the foreign policy priorities are stated, it is also clear that sometimes the priorities conflict. For example, Australian efforts to help East Timor achieve independence conflicted with its goal of strengthening relations with Indonesia.

Australia is a country that very much wants to be seen as an independent power in the Asia/Pacific region. It is a country that wants to carve out its own identity in the world system; an identity that leaves it free from dependency on other nations. The reality is that this is not easy, and Australia cannot survive in the current world system without dependence on the United States. The problem is that on the one hand Australia has strong ties with the United States, but it is also part of Asia (Lyon, 2001, p. 516). In an article for the Far Eastern Economic Review journalist Barry Hing writes, "Australia must work out a position whereby it recognizes its cultural differences and maintains its support for traditional allies, such as the U.S., and at the same time fit in comfortably in a region that may not always share such sympathies" (Hing, 2001, p. 30). Lyon (2001) writes,

In Colin Powell's confirmation speech before the US Senate, he stated that Washington would be looking to Australia for leadership and guidance on the difficult transition under way in Indonesia. While generous, this commitment only placed into sharper relief the existing tensions between Jakarta and Canberra [the respective capitals]. At least for the foreseeable future, Indonesian politics seem murky and unpredictable,

and the Indonesian-Australian relationship possesses little of the intimacy and warmth that characterized it only a few years ago (p. 517).

Indonesia is one of Australia's two largest partners in Asia, yet internal unrest and the situation in East Timor have meant that the relationship is not so sound (Lyon, 2001, p. 523).

As mentioned earlier, China is important to Australia, but Australia's relationship with the U.S. causes problems. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT, 2002) Annual Report 2000-2001 states, "Bilateral trade with China increased significantly in 2000-2001, with total exports in 2000 rising 37 percent over 1999 figures to almost AUS\$7 billion" (p. 7). In addition, conferences were scheduled with China to showcase Australian businesses. Meetings with high-level government officials were used to urge China to improve human rights issues and "to ensure Australia's views on regional security issues were clearly understood by Chinese counterparts" (p. 7). Lyon (2001) writes that the crash of the U.S. military plane on Hainan Island,

advertised how difficult Australia's position could become in instances of heightened tension between China and the United States. The accident occurred in a context where the new [U.S.] administration had already moved away from the previous administration's policy of treating China as a strategic partner. Australian foreign policy was left with no comfortable saddle point. Canberra's instinctive attraction to Washington's position was moderated by concerns about the level of anti-China rhetoric in Washington and a compelling wish to avoid a new bipolar contest between Australia's traditional ally and the fastest rising Asian great power. (p. 518)

Indonesia and China are very important to Australia, and therefore it is important for Radio Australia to have programming in Indonesian and Mandarin (also known as standard Chinese) in order to continue to build goodwill between Australia and the Indonesian and Chinese people. Hing (2001) points out that

Australia needs to strengthen its relationship with Asia culturally as well as in other ways, but at the same time Asian countries need to be willing to accept Australia. He writes, "Just as Australians have been urged to shun stereotypes about Asia, so too must Asians show a greater readiness to understand their neighbor and not to resort to clichés (p. 31). Radio Australia could well be a useful tool in promoting that type of understanding.

Intermediary—Australian Broadcasting Corporation

There has long been a battle for the control of the station and a debate as to whether its operation should be patterned after the British or American models of international broadcasting. Radio Australia in its present relationship with the government mirrors the BBC World Service model more than that of Voice of America. The Australian government operates Radio Australia as the international arm or international network of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), whereas Voice of America is operated by the government and the Department of State is represented on its board of governors. With Voice of America, the State Department has attempted to influence the content of programming, most notably when VOA interviewed the former head of the Taliban. According to Australian law governing the ABC, and by extension Radio Australia, this should not happen in Australia.

Looking at the relationship between the ABC and the Australian government, and at documents such as the ABC Corporate plans, help us understand current and future plans for the ABC and Radio Australia. The legislation governing the ABC is the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act 1983. As a result of this legislation, the Australian Broadcasting Commission

became the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Section 6 of the ABC Act details the Charter of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC Online, 2001b).

The 1983 Act states that the ABC has editorial independence from the government and is accountable to the Parliament through its Annual Reports, Corporate Plans, and the appearance of ABC officials before Parliamentary committees. The government department responsible for providing funding for the ABC is The Department of Communications Information Technology and the Arts (DCITA), which makes an appropriation to the ABC every year. This appropriation is based on a funding agreement negotiated every 3 years. The current funding cycle ends on June 30, 2003. Although Radio Australia is part of the ABC, it is actually funded by two government departments, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, which covers the programming in foreign languages, and the DCITA, which funds the cost of English language programming and satellite costs.

In addition to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation charter, Radio Australia is also governed by its own charter. The RA charter says the overarching goal of the Radio Australia is to "foster international understanding of Australia and to reflect the nation's perspectives on the world (ABC Online, 2001b). In doing so, Radio Australia attempts to

- reflect the multicultural nature and socio-economic diversity of Australian society.
- encourage a free exchange of information, ideas and knowledge, acting as a credible and responsible window on the world.

- and foster an understanding of Australian attitudes and values while not excluding other attitudes and values. (p. 53)

Obviously such goals are lofty. The ABC Editorial Policies guide notes that, "Translating goals into practical terms requires priorities to be set for regions, languages, target audiences, and broadcast content" (ABC Online, 2001b, p. 53). In terms of content, information services are listed as being at the center of Radio Australia's programming. In addition the broadcast of Australian regional and international news and current affairs are also a top priority. Finally, "Radio Australia should also broadcast programs which reflect Australia as a nation and encompasses the full spectrum of events and conditions—cultural, sociological, economic and political" (p. 53).

What is interesting about the identity of Radio Australia is that, because the station is so closely tied to Australia's public broadcasting service, Radio Australia itself is promoted as a public service broadcaster,

As part of the ABC, Radio Australia adheres to the highest standards of public broadcasting, including independent, unbiased and reliable news and information. Over 60 years RA has developed an enviable reputation as a trusted and friendly broadcaster. Whether we are reporting on the latest political crisis or providing educational information, you can depend on Radio Australia. (ABC Online, 2003b)

Obviously, some of this is rhetoric, but the station, as part of ABC, assumes the identity of the parent company. In doing so, it is able to draw on the services of the ABC and the reputation and goodwill that the ABC has within Australia, the Asia/Pacific region, and the world. It is an attempt to put a buffer between the station and its relationship with the Australian government and to solidify the claim that Radio Australia is neutral and independent and less an agent of propaganda by the Australian government. As noted on Radio

Australia's web site, "by law and by convention neither the government nor parliament seeks to intervene in editorial decisions" (ABC Online, 2002d, p. 1).³ The priorities for Radio Australia are endorsed by the ABC Board, are subject to review and may be changed. So, for example, if Australia was to go to war, past history suggests the regional focus of the station and the languages used well may change. Critics also may point out, and rightly so, that even public service broadcasters with a reputation for integrity and quality programming are funded by the government and so are still beholden to the hand that feeds them.

Station Output—Target Audience

Radio Australia broadcasts in six languages: English, Indonesian, Mandarin, Vietnamese, Khmer (Cambodian), and Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea). By comparison, the BBC World Service broadcasts in 43 languages and Voice of America 52. Radio Australia's target audience is people in the Asia-Pacific region and a major role of Radio Australia is to keep audiences in the Asia/Pacific region and the wider global community informed about events and issues in Australia. This is achieved in part by broadcasting programs from ABC Radio (ABC Online, 2003b).

Currently, Radio Australia's regional areas of focus are the South-West and Central Pacific, South-East Asia, North Asia, and South Asia. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation's Guide of Editorial Policies notes that "English language broadcasts should be the flag-carrier of Radio Australia as English accurately expresses the culture of Australia and is the lingua franca of opinion

³The law mentioned is the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act 1983.

leaders in the target countries" (ABC Online, 2001b, p. 53). This statement gives a significant clue to how the station is used: to promote Australia, Australian values, and Australia's view of the world. The priority is to reach those people who can affect change in their countries.

Following the national opinion leaders, the other two target audiences are, in order of priority, "indigenous listeners with an interest in the world around them, and Australian expatriates" (ABC Online, 2001b, p. 53). The indigenous listeners will either have to speak English, or one of the other five languages to benefit from the programming. The assumption also seems to be that expatriates can gain information from "home" from other sources but, if not, can always listen to Radio Australia. The languages Radio Australia uses shows that those regions and countries have special significance to the Australian government.

Radio Australia uses many means to reach audiences in Asia and the Pacific. Radio Australia reaches into the French Pacific, with many local stations relaying portions of its programming. It also has a strong influence in Indonesia where local stations rebroadcast portions of its programming, and where it has an estimated weekly audience of almost 3 million people (Foreign radio stations, 1999).

However, the ability of the station to carry out the objectives and priorities of the government depends on the funding from the government through the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Radio Australia is also constrained by the charter and policies established by the Australian government. This in turn affects the output of the station and the way that the station is utilized.

This next section describes the programs produced by Radio Australia and by the ABC including some program content and an explanation of the type of programming used by the station. Although the other language services will be analyzed, the English service is the primary focus of analysis: the English language service broadcasts 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. The other services, while important to reaching various populations within the Asia-Pacific region, provide programming for only a few hours each day. This is due less to foreign policy considerations than to the budget constraints outlined earlier. The English language service therefore more completely represents Radio Australia and its mission to reach out to the Asia-Pacific region.

English Service

Programming

Programming⁴ on Radio Australia is divided into five categories: news, current affairs and sport; political economic and social commentary; science and technology; music, arts, and culture; and education and knowledge.

These are broad categories that can be further subdivided. Table 4-1 illustrates categories of programming on Radio Australia.

Among the categories, Current Affairs and News differ in terms of production value. Current Affairs programming is longer and contains in-depth coverage and analysis of national and international issues. News programming refers more to the bulletins aired every hour.

⁴The complete program guide and frequency guide for the Radio Australia English language service is in Appendix A.

The Indigenous category is programming produced by Aboriginal broadcasters for a mainstream audience. It also contains programming examining indepth the many facets of Aboriginal culture.

Programs in the Light Entertainment category may include comedies or dramas. Contemporary Life is programming that looks at current issues facing people in Australia.

Table 4-1. Categories of programming on Radio Australia

Content by Genre	Percentage of Total Programming
Current Affairs	25.4%
News	16.1%
Music	10.7%
Sport	8.4%
Topical Radio	5.6%
Education	5.6%
Light Entertainment	5.3%
Science, Technology, Environment, Natural History	4.6%
Contemporary Life	4.2%
Arts & Culture	3.8%
Regional & Rural	3.3%
Religion & Ethics	1.7%
Law, Consumer Affairs & Media	1.2%
Health	1.2%
Indigenous	1.1%
Business & Finance	1.0%
History	0.7%

Source: Australian Broadcasting Corporation Annual Report 2000-2001

Radio National

Radio Australia staff produce much of the News and Current Affairs programming aired on Radio Australia. However, the majority of programming aired over the English service of Radio Australia is produced by the ABC for broadcast over Radio National, a national terrestrial station heard in over 235

regional areas across Australia. Radio Australia merely rebroadcasts Radio National's programs.

Radio National is branded as "the ABC's specialist information and arts network" (ABC Online, 2002b, p. 1) and its staff produces and airs over 65 different programs. Before looking at those Radio National programs aired specifically on Radio Australia, it is helpful to understand the philosophy that guides Radio National. Doing so makes it apparent why these programs fit so easily with the mission of Radio Australia.

The philosophy can be best summed up in the following statements used by the ABC to describe Radio National:

Radio National provides a unique service giving Australians access to the world of social, cultural, political and economic ideas. This includes analyzing, inquiring and provoking debate about "why" and not simply "what."

Radio National aims to stimulate and entertain, increase curiosity and help ordinary, intelligent Australians make sense of an increasingly complex world.

Radio National programs explore the capabilities of the radio medium itself and have the highest possible journalistic, ethical and production standards. (ABC Online, 2002b, p. 1)

Obviously the target audience for Radio National programming is Australians. But, when the programming is retransmitted via Radio Australia, it fulfills the goal of exposing listeners overseas, both Australian and other nationalities, to the Australian culture, values, and ideals. The programming is not simply entertaining but educational and designed to give an Australian view on the region and the world. In the United States, the closest analogy would be if Voice of America began rebroadcasting portions of NPR. Having looked at the primary source of programming on Radio Australia, the next section examines

the programs that fall under the various categories, and the content of some of the programs.

News, Current Affairs and Sports

This category accounts for about 50% of the total program content on Radio Australia. The station broadcasts either 5- or 10-minute news bulletins every hour focusing on Australia, Asia-Pacific, and the world. Other programs produced by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and broadcast on ABC stations and Radio Australia include "AM" broadcast twice a day, and "PM" broadcast once a day. These programs are the anchors of the ABC's current affairs programming. AM has been on the air in Australia for over 30 years and PM for 30 years in July, 2002. Table 4-2 illustrates the AM program for August 15, 2002, a day picked at random from the program's archives. As can be noted, transcripts and audio files of the program are available from the program's web pages. Depending on events in the region, some days the content of the program will focus more heavily on one particular issue. For example, following the bombing in Bali in October 2002, the majority of the stories focused on that issue.

Other programs include the 50 minute "The World Today" aired once a day emphasizing Australia's place in the world and how international and domestic issues affect Australians. The show features interviews and packages from correspondents inside and outside Australia. "Background Briefing" is also a 50-minute show aired twice a week; "Correspondents Report" is 25 minutes and aired four times on Sunday.

Table 4-2. AM program content

Story	Description
News Corporation losses	Australia's biggest ever corporate loss just got bigger. Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation has registered a new Australian benchmark loss of 12-billion dollars, largely due to its failed investment in the programme guide company, Gemstar.
John Elliot in court	John Elliot is under siege this morning. The receivers moved in yesterday to take control of his rice-growing company, Australian Rice Holdings and as if that's not enough, Mr Elliott is trying to fight off Australia's corporate watchdog ASIC.
Pacific forum underway	On the day when the Federal Government is expected to release long awaited greenhouse emissions figures amid claims by Greens leader Bob Brown that they will have been massaged, Pacific Island nations will be urging Canberra to take a tougher stand on emissions. Their concerns will be voiced in Fiji at the Pacific Islands Forum, which gets underway today and it's being attending by the Prime Minister John Howard.
Howard on Zimbabwe and Iraq	Away from the Pacific Forum, Iraq continues to preoccupy the Prime Minister, who is playing down the prospects of an imminent US led attack. He's also considering sanctions against Zimbabwe.
Costello celebrates 45th birthday	While Mr Howard focused on the big international picture, his Treasurer Peter Costello was displaying his softer side. He was celebrating his 45th birthday last night as guest of honour at a small party in a farmyard at Swan Hill.
East Timor Governor sentenced	With the carrot of resumed American military aid dangling, Indonesia's human rights court has delivered its first conviction and sentence over the bloodshed of the period after East Timor's 1999 independence vote. It's found that the then governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, was guilty of two counts of gross rights violations.
Marwan Barghouti charged with murder	Marwan Barghouti is regarded as the architect of the Palestinian uprising and a possible successor to Yasser Arafat, but Israel describes him as an arch-terrorist whose hands are bloodied by the deaths of hundreds of people. Now, in the most prominent case of the intifada, Israel has charged Marwan Barghouti with murder.
Malaria vaccine developing	Malaria kills about two million people a year, most of them children, and it infects hundreds of millions more. So it is very important news that an Australian research team has developed a possible means of vaccinating against malaria.

Table 4-2. Continued

Story	Description
Floods in Asia	Floods continue to ravage Europe and Asia with more than 800 people now dead across south-Asia and millions more homeless, the victims of torrents sweeping through Nepal, Bangladesh and India as well as Korea and aid workers face a logistical nightmare.
Prague still at risk	On the other side of the world, Central Europe's floods are now being described as the worst in 500 years, with more than 90 people dead and the historic centre of the Czech capital Prague still at risk.

Source: ABC Online, 2002a

Regional and world sports news are aired a number of times each day.

On Saturday and Sunday almost 6 hours each day is devoted to "Grandstand," featuring comprehensive coverage of sporting events in Australia and the world.

Two programs produced by Radio Australia are "Pacific Beat," a news magazine show with an emphasis on the Pacific region and "Asia Pacific" which looks at regional current affairs. "Pacific Beat" is 30 minutes long and is repeated five times a day. Radio Australia describes "Pacific Beat" as "the authoritative news and information program, offering in-depth analysis of Pacific current affairs" (ABC Online, 2002f, p. 2). "Asia Pacific" is 30 minutes long and is repeated four times a day Monday through Saturday. This program is promoted by Radio Australia as "The multi award winning regional news and current affairs program that delves into the issues and people making news across Asia and the Pacific" (p. 2).

Ken Case, a resident of Las Vegas, Nevada, says Pacific Beat offers him "a quite valuable source of information about the Pacific Rim environmental and economic as well as political and economic conditions" (K. Case, personal

communication, July 8, 2002). T. R. Rajeesh in India says Asia-Pacific provides him with a view of the world with an Australian perspective (T. R. Rajeesh, personal communication, July 27, 2002).

The author conducted a content analysis of "Asia Pacific" to understand topics covered and regions or people targeted by the programs. A composite week was compiled for the analysis. Depending on events in the region, certain countries may be highlighted more frequently than others. The days selected at random for the composite Asia-Pacific week were Monday, May 27; Tuesday June 11; Wednesday, April 3; Thursday, April 25; and Friday May 10, 2002. Table 4-3 lists the countries or regions covered in a story on the program over the course of the week and the headline or title of each story.

Appendix C contains a copy of a daily e-mail received from Radio Australia. Any interested person can receive a daily description of the program and are provided with html links to the various stories. This provides people who have access to the Internet a means of listening to programming, and choosing the stories they want to hear. The radio station also provides information such as graphics to accompany the story and links to similar stories.

Staff from "Pacific Beat" and "Asia Pacific" have visited various countries in the region for broadcasts marking special events. Early in 2002, as Western Samoa celebrated its 40th anniversary, staff from "Pacific Beat" broadcast live for three hours, two mornings in a row, from the capital, Apia. "Asia Pacific" reporters broadcast reports in English and Indonesian from East Timor as that country celebrated its declaration of independence.

Table 4-3. Composite week for Asia-Pacific program

Countries or region covered and date	Story headline
Asian Region	
4/3/02	Higher oil prices may derail Asia's economic recovery.
East Timor	
5/10/02	Broadcast media under threat of closure.
Fiji (2)	
4/25/02	1. Government to take constitutional appeal to Supreme Court.
5/27/02	2. Thirty percent of Fiji's women live in poverty.
Hong Kong	
4/25/02	Human rights campaigner Pam Baker loses cancer battle.
India (3)	
5/10/02	1. India's underwater ruins could be lost temple.
5/27/02	2. Hawkish rhetoric raises questions about India's next step.
6/11/02	3. First steps to reduce regional tension.
Indonesia (2)	
4/3/02	1. Former military chief, Wiranto, to appear at Timor trial.
4/25/02	2. Resumption of US military ties dependent on atrocities trial.
Kashmir	
5/27/02	Diplomats at work to prevent war.
Nepal	
5/10/02	Prime minister rejects rebel ceasefire offer.
New Zealand	
6/11/02	Prime Minister calls early elections.
North Korea	
4/3/02	U.S. agrees to fund power and heating.
Papua New Guinea	
6/11/02	Calls for PNG government to fund Bougainville property.
Philippines (2)	
4/3/02	1. MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) concerned it may be regarded as terrorist groups.
6/11/02	2. Birth rate set to double.
Solomon Islands	
4/25/02	Compensation more important than justice.
South Korea	
4/25/02	Calls for President Kim to quit after another scandal.
Sri Lanka	
5/10/02	Tourism a much-needed source of foreign currency.
Tibet	
6/11/02	Teachers receive long prison sentences on espionage charges.
Vanuatu	
5/10/02	Tax rates attract casino project.

The Radio Australia website also has a series of pages entitled "East Timor Emerging Nation" which includes an interactive map, live forums, and a series of features called "Talking Timor" (Radio Australia Update, 2003e). Twelve of the countries covered were from the Asian region, while five were from the Pacific region. At the time of writing, the relationship between India and Pakistan was volatile so it is not surprising that a program looking at regional current affairs should examine the conflict. In addition to the impact on the Asia-Pacific region of the conflict, almost half of the population of Fiji is of Indian descent. Therefore, the interest in events in that region among people in both Asia and Pacific would be very high. The website is important as it shows how technological advances enhance content produced by the radio station.

Political, Economy and Social Commentary

Programming in this category includes music and interview shows rebroadcast from ABC stations. These include "Margaret Throsby," a 50-minute show hosted by the broadcaster who was the first woman to read national radio news and to present national television news in Australia. The show is broadcast seven times a week. The show airs in Australia on Classic FM and is described as a show where "influential Australians and international visitors discuss their life and careers against a backdrop of their favorite music" (ABC Online, 2002f, p. 3). In addition Radio Australia airs topical shows covering issues such as the media, law, and business.

Science and Technology

There are six programs in this category focusing on issues such as health, science and the environment. The programs include the 15-minute "Ockham's

Razor," a talk show featuring scientists that airs twice a week, the 30-minute "Health Report" airing four times a day, and the 50-minute "Science Show" airing three times a week.

The "Health Report" is hosted by Dr. Norman Swann, a pediatrician and journalist.⁵ "Ockham's Razor" and the "Science Show" are both hosted by "Robyn Williams, one of Australia's most accomplished broadcasters [who] makes science interesting and fun for all" (ABC Online, 2002f, p. 4). Among the recent topics covered on "Ockham's Razor" are schizophrenia, conservation and environmental issues, and dyslexia.

Music, Arts, and Culture

This category is described as "an eclectic mix of music programs, showcasing the very best from the world, contemporary and indigenous Australian music scenes" (ABC Online, 2002f, p. 4). The majority of the music shows in this category range from 20 to 30 minutes long and are aired three times per week. The exception is "The Planet," which is one hour and 40 minutes long and is aired five times per week. "The Planet" is certainly eclectic, and the diversity of the program can perhaps best be summed up by looking at the playlist for a random show. What follows is a list of some of the songs played on the show for Tuesday, May 28, 2002, and a description of each of the songs.

⁵Topics covered from January–June 2002 included: Bereavement and Grief; Alzheimer's Disease; Prostate Cancer; Risks of Keyhole Gall Bladder Surgery; Seasonal Affective Disorder; Waking up with neck pain, stiffness, headaches, arm pains, and other symptoms; Osteoarthritis in the knee and strength exercises; Dairy Foods and the Insulin Resistance Syndrome; Placebos; St. John's Wort and Regular Medication in the Treatment of Major Depression; Buddhist-style meditation to prevent the recurrence of depression; A special feature on speech and language (ABC Online, 2002g, p. 1).

The featured CD for the evening is "Hollow Bamboo" by Ronu Majumdar who is described on the Planet web site as the "Dr Feelgood of Indian Flute" (ABC Online, 2003f) Table 4-4 contains a description of some of the other artists on the show.

Table 4-4. Artists featured on the Planet program

<p>PHILIP DEGRUY - "INNUENDO OUT THE OTHER" (solo 17-string elec guitar, fingerstyle - v quirky, virtuosic & humorous - more-or-less a bent-boogie)</p> <p>NEIL ADAM & JUDY TURNER - "THE KEYS TO THE FIELD" (AUSTRALIAN COMPOSER & PERFORMER): sweetly sauntering song which evokes an itinerant's life in the Depression in rural Australia. Male voices, deft ac guitar, harmonica, brushes, ac bass.. inspired by Australia's oldest man - Jack Lockett of Bendigo, who died, aged 111, last Saturday)</p> <p>TERRY EVANS - "COME TO THE RIVER" (gospel-drenched affirmative blues w black male lead & harmony-chorus voices, Ry Cooder's distorted elec slide guitar prominent, plus simmering organ, rhythm guitar, bass, drumkit)</p> <p>CHARLIE MARIANO - "DEEP IN A DREAM" (based on a Japanese pentatonic scale. It sounds very Japanese & haunting. The leader's alto sax w crystalline piano from Bob Degen, Jarrod Cagwin's cymbals & frame drum , Isla Eckinger's bass)</p> <p>ISSA BAGAYOGO - "TIMBUKTU" (Very catchy Afro-pop from Mali - his male African voice to fore w female chorus-response voices, Ali-Farka-like, jangling-cyclic elec guitar, peul flute, plus djembe & other human & machined percussion).</p>

Source: ABC Online, 2003f

Two other shows broadcast on Radio Australia are the 30-minute "Arts Talk" aired three times per week, and the 15-minute "Lingua Franca," also aired three times per week. "Arts Talk" is fairly self-explanatory, but "Lingua Franca" deserves a little more explanation:

Lingua Franca . . . looks at all aspects of language. Old languages, modern languages and even invented languages. Through interviews and prepared talks, experts analyze a single topic of interest to users and lovers of language traversing such linguistic territory as bi-lingual

education, ebonics, the language of pornography, and the political use of words" (ABC Online, 2002h).

The program focuses on linguistic issues both in Australia and around the world.

Education and Knowledge

Some of the programs in this category are broadcast in English and in some of the other language services on Radio Australia. The programs in this category are series produced in cooperation with Australian Universities or other institutions. Each program series is accompanied by an indepth interactive web site that serves to enhance the content of the program. Appendix D illustrates the title of the different series and brief description of the content.

Radio Australia as a Program Provider

Radio Australia serves two functions: that of a broadcaster providing programming direct to the listener, and that of a program provider providing programming for partner stations. The role as a program provider really developed from the cutbacks to the service that took place in 1997. Radio Australia's Network Manager Jean Gabriel Manguy says that for many years shortwave broadcasting was a means to reach listeners in other countries from the safety of ones own shores. However, due to the changes beginning 1997, Manguy notes,

What we've achieved I suppose in the last five years is that, and we had no choice, is that we have left our shores . . . and we have had to talk to various organizations to encourage them to relay Radio Australia. We've had to talk to other organizations to help us produce some content because, I mean, our resource base wasn't enough anymore" (ABC Online, 2002e).

Manguy says that one of the biggest changes is that now instead of Radio Australia going to other stations to almost beg them to carry the programming, stations are now coming to Radio Australia requesting programming. Radio Australia provides almost 300 local and international radio stations with programming through what is known as "Global Connections." Individual stations or partner stations choose the programming they want from Radio Australia as well as the means of delivery that best suits the station's needs. Stations receive Radio Australia programming via satellite, mp3 files on the World Wide Web, shortwave, compact disc, or CD Rom. In addition, Radio Australia may also consider offering stations "exclusive contractual arrangements, promotional and publicity support, co-productions, joint coverage of regional events, staff development exchanges and the provision of technical assistance" (ABC Online, 2002f, p. 8).

One new initiative that Radio Australia is involved in is partnerships with regional broadcasters. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) and Radio Australia have entered into an agreement with Papua New Guinea's National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The agreement calls for journalists and producers from Radio Australia and the NBC to, in effect, change places and gain experience working in different cultures. However, it is not just about gaining experience as much as it is being able to offer a different point-of-view to the broadcasts. For example, the host of the NBC's morning show spent four weeks working with Radio Australia. He worked with both the English language and Pidgin (Papua New Guinean) services including contributing reports to the

"Pacific Beat" program and to Radio Australia's daily news broadcasts in Pidgin.

Radio Australia's Network Manager, Jean-Gabriel Manguy, commented,

NBC journalists have contributed to several of our latest educational radio series about life in the Pacific. It is wonderful to be able to work more closely together as there is much we can learn from one another—and our listeners benefit too, from the richer, more diverse program content that results from closer interaction and cooperation between our two networks, our two nations. (Australian Broadcasting Corporation Online, 2002h)

The partnership with regional broadcasters highlights an important role for Radio Australia. It is a role model for other broadcasters and stations in the Asia-Pacific region. Because of the reputation its staff has, and because of its ties to the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Australia is a station other organizations want to emulate.

Six local stations in some of the largest urban areas in Indonesia carry news and current affairs programming from Radio Australia via satellite. Four of the stations in Medan, Jakarta, Bandung, and Sumedang, Indonesia, also carry a live weekly talkback show with broadcasters from Radio Australia's Indonesian service (ABC Online, 2002i). Similarly, Chinese stations that partner with Radio Australia also carry live talkback programming with Radio Australia's Chinese staff. The link into China has also necessitated that Radio Australia move in a new direction as a station; producing programming not for use on the station but specifically for air on stations in China. Manguy says, "Our Chinese partners were telling us, you know, your English lessons are fine, your music programs are fine, but we want to respond to our audience who want to listen to programs in English, but in English that they will understand" (ABC Online, 2002e). So

Radio Australia began producing such programming specifically for the Chinese stations.

One of the concerns of "shortwave traditionalists" is that international broadcasters such as Radio Australia are moving away from, or neglecting, shortwave in favor of other means of delivery. Jean Gabriel Manguy notes that, particularly in Asia, they have not had any choice but to look at new ways of delivering the programming. He said,

recently, some of our technical people went to Indonesia to monitor our broadcasts and while shortwave broadcasts were clear in some provincial areas, in urban areas such as Jakarta the signal was just not getting through. So that's the reality of it. In the Pacific, as we know, the signal is there, the signal is strong. Now we don't have any figures on who listens to us. Papua New Guinea, certainly the indications are people certainly listen to us. I don't know that it's been one or the other until last year. Until last year we had basically no shortwave capacity to Asia. It's only in the last 12 months that, in English in particular, we've been back in Asia and only for seven hours a day, so it's not a matter of neglecting it was just not there. (ABC Online, 2002e)

Medium Used to Broadcast and Means of Listening

As mentioned, Radio Australia uses many means to deliver programming to stations and individuals. This section offers some insight from listeners as to why they use means other than shortwave to listen to Radio Australia. An organization that works with broadcasters, such as Radio Australia, to help deliver programming is World Radio Network (WRN). The WRN web site (www.wrn.org) provides links to programming from many international broadcasters and can be a means of attracting listeners to listen to a station on a regular basis. Fred Henri lives in the Canary Islands and is a listener to Radio Australia. He said that it was only when Radio Australia became available on WRN that he began listening regularly to the station. However, Henri offers a

caution to those stations such as Radio Australia which offer programming either partially or solely over the Internet:

One should add some remarks on a change on the World Radio Network, too, that has been negative, in these last few years - probably less as far as Internet users in Europe or North America and other "developed" countries are concerned, however much so for people in African and supposingly [sic] other "developing " countries: the disappearance of short Radio Australia program segments from the WRN website. While there used to be 10-minute blocks with news only, or at least 30 minute blocks, downloading the present 60 minute segments causes not only technical problems, e.g. by connections often cut twice or three times in more than an hour necessary to download such a large file, but cuts also deep into most people's purses. The vast majority don't enjoy flat rates in most of these countries but have to pay their connections by the minute. (F. Henri, personal communication, July 15, 2002)

Michael Whalley lives in Canada and is a listener to Radio Australia. He says that listening to the station via the Internet is beneficial. He used to only listen to Radio Australia for about an hour and a half in the morning because after 9 a.m. the shortwave reception deteriorated. Whalley says, "

But now that I'm on the Internet at home I can listen to world radio programs at any time—very useful if I miss an item I particularly wanted to hear. This means I am now in a position to explore RA much more fully—the only thing preventing me so far being the time available. (M. Whalley, personal communication, July 16, 2002)

Christopher Cotterell, also in Canada, uses a more "low-tech," but still effective, means of listening to Radio Australia. He says, "I listen to RA on [the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation] overnight. Am I up all night? No fear mate! An electronic timer triggers a tape deck—VCR timeshift style—and I listen to the tapes at my convenience" (C. Cotterell, personal communication, July 26, 2002).

However, whether the audience listens to Radio Australia via the Internet, rebroadcasts on a different station, or via shortwave, the question is how does

the station know the audience is even there? When an international broadcaster transmits its programs over shortwave, the signals intentionally cross state borders and may be received well outside the intended target region. In addition, the signal may sometimes be targeted toward countries where listening to the station is not encouraged by the government and so measurement of the audience may be almost impossible. This next section looks at some of the ways Radio Australia obtains feedback from its listeners and at some of the reasons people in other countries listen to Radio Australia.

Audience

Feedback from the audience is important because it is an indication if the message is getting through. It is one thing to want to put a positive spin on Australia and its culture, but it may not always have the desired effect. One program produced by Radio Australia is called "Feedback." It is a program where listener's letters are answered and discussed. Feedback from the audience may lead to change in the characteristics of the station. Maybe other broadcast media would be better used or maybe the message is not being targeted to the right people. All of this needs to be continually evaluated if the government is going to successfully use the station.

Radio Australia uses other means to generate audience response is the guestbook pages on its website. Here listeners can provide feedback to programs, ask questions about the station, or enter competitions. A brief look at the Radio Australia guestbook from May 2001 to June 2002 revealed e-mails (N = 153) from people in 31 countries around the world. There were a large number of e-mails where it was impossible to determine the writer's country of

origin. In fact, the "unable to determine origin" category accounted for the majority of the e-mails (N = 44), closely followed by those from the United States (N = 43), Australia (N=10), England (N= 8), Canada (N = 6), and Germany (N = 6).

The majority of the e-mails were either technical and transmission questions or general comments about the service and general greetings. Other e-mails included people asking for program schedules, comments or questions about specific programs, answers to competitions on a program, or issues to do with the website.

The author used the guestbook to get in touch with Roger Broadbent, host of the program "Feedback" and Program Coordinator of Radio Australia's English service. As a result of the message left on the guestbook and a message broadcast by Broadbent on "Feedback," a number of listeners contacted the author with comments on why they listen to Radio Australia. The comments in no way serve as a representative sample of listeners to Radio Australia. However, they do provide some insight into why people listen to the station.

Many of the listeners who e-mailed the author listen to the station to gain knowledge or insight about other countries and cultures, or because they have some connection with Australia. Lester Bearcroft from England wrote that listening to Radio Australia "further[s] my knowledge of the day-to-day problems which manifest our planet, and radio gives the listener an immediate insight into hearing how other people and nations live, work, and play. So it's educational to say the least" (L. Bearcroft, personal communication, July 7, 2002).

T. R. Rajeesh listens in India and says,

Australia may be the first country about which I might have learned about in my text books. The vast country twice bigger than India with very few population, its aboriginal people and mainly the home to Marsupials attracted me very much. When I was a high school student I accidentally heard Radio Australia on SW describing about forests there. That was a prog namely Science File. Later I became addicted to them listening [to programs] such as Charting Australia-Relation with the subcontinent, Grandstand-Cricket commentaries, Sound About-Music and what more the great Feedback with Roger [Broadbent] and Liz Breez the mailbag prog and indeed it was my favourite [sic]. Asia Pacific. Due to thier interest in the area as well for a view from thier [sic] side.

Some listeners listen to the Radio Australia and other overseas international radio stations because they feel the stations offer more objectivity and a greater coverage of world events than do networks in, or international stations originating from, their own country. Ken Case in Nevada says,

If you've tried anything worthwhile from American radio or television recently, the 'why' anyone would listen to Radio Australia should not require a great deal of puzzling over. American voice and visual media is [sic] pathetic, but only marginally more so than is VOA. Radio Australia, Radio New Zealand, Radio Netherlands and a good many others explore issues more in the manner of Edward R. Murrow than [the current news anchors]. Our own NPR and VOA, which should be doing objective reporting, are so obviously agenda driven that they are valueless. In addition to the news and interviews, Radio Australia and Radio New Zealand carry variety programming which is rather better than American radio, but not quite up to BBC, as yet. Radio Australia provides, as well, a "listener's forum" if you will, which is much to be preferred over American talk radio with its attendant hysteria and evident host egos, as well as the same type of programming on BBC. (K. Case, personal communication, July 8, 2002)

Michael Whalley is an English native living in Canada and says that most of the media sources in his vicinity either originate from North America, or cover or focus on events in that region. He says that he prefers to hear coverage from other sources and regions and has primarily listened to the BBC World Service. However, his interest in Australia has also led to him listening to radio Australia. Whalley says:

I usually switch on at around 7.30 am local time (EST), when I often get something interesting from Bush Telegraph. Previously that slot was filled by Life Matters, another very good program. Then at 8.00 am there's five minutes news. This again I like to have because, understandably, there is much more about the Pacific region than one tends to get on the BBC. Then it's Late Night Live, a favourite [sic] program of mine for some years now. I suppose this is partly because I see eye to eye with Phillip Adams's general outlook, but also because of the way he gets discussion going between such a wide range of people dotted around the world. Also, of course, for some items focusing on Australian issues, such as questions related to the aborigines, and the recent scandals concerning the migrant detention centres [sic]. (M. Whalley, personal communication, July 16, 2002)

Criticisms

The responses in the previous section show Radio Australia in a generally positive light. However, not everyone is as enamored with the use of Radio Australia as those listeners are, or as the Australian government seems to be at the present time. Laisa Taga, editor-in-chief of the Islands Business International multimedia group and former editor of Fiji's Daily Post, is critical of Australia's seeming domination of Pacific Island media. She says, "Turn on your radio in many Pacific Islands these days and you'll get news and views with an Australian accent and slant" (Pacific Islands Development Program, 2002, p. 1). Taga says, "The Aussies seem to have launched a massive drive to influence Pacific Islands people by providing news and views the Australian way through Radio Australia and Australian Television" (p. 1). Furthermore, Taga says Radio Australia is giving Pacific Island radio stations free satellite dishes so that they can rebroadcast Radio Australia programming. Taga says obviously such measures are good for Australia, but she wonders "Is it good for Pacific Island countries to have Australia having such an influence on what people see and hear?" (p. 1). While her perspective is relevant from a programmers point-of-

view, it would be hard to turn down the offer of a free satellite dish and free programming particularly as money is short for many small radio stations in the Pacific and professionally produced programming is hard to come by. The perspective of Pacific Island broadcasters in receiving programming from international broadcasters is shown in a survey conducted by Professor Jim Richstad in 1985.

Richstad's Survey

Richstad sent questionnaires to 28 stations in the Pacific with several goals in mind. First, he wished to determine how programs from international broadcasters were used by Pacific radio stations, and second, how station managers at these stations view listener interest in news and in other countries. Richstad saw the study as "the first step in examining international broadcasting in the Pacific," (Richstad, 1987, p. 3) and believed the study could be extended to other areas where national stations used international broadcast programming.

Of the 28 questionnaires sent out, 20 were returned. Nonrespondents were primarily from French Polynesia. Richstad also mailed a different survey to international broadcasters. Richstad's research showed that at the time respondents considered Radio Australia to be the most important service in the region, followed by Radio New Zealand International, Voice of America, and the BBC World Service (Richstad, 1987, p. 1). Radio New Zealand International was most popular in countries where New Zealand currently has, or previously had, political interest. Radio France International had importance to stations in French Polynesia, but not elsewhere in the Pacific.

Programming provided by international broadcasters was deemed most beneficial. News and public affairs programming was rated most highly, followed by music and cultural programming. Browne (1982) states that audience research shows the most popular programming element provided by international broadcasters is news. In this respect listeners to shortwave broadcasts in the islands are no different from others around the world. The most useful programs provided by Radio Australia at this time were news,

World and local news provided by the international broadcasters was seen as very important to the local broadcasters. Then, as now, many of the stations rebroadcast the newscasts directly. One interesting point from the survey is that "home country' news of the [international] broadcaster may also be seen in some cases to be 'local news' for the receiving country." (Richstad, 1985, p. 14) This may be true for countries in the Pacific or Asia where a large number of residents live in Australia. For them news of Australia may seem like local news particularly if they have many family members living in Australia. Richstad noted in his survey that news was seen as having more authority when it came from an international broadcaster (Richstad, 1985, p. 14). He also noted, and this is still the case, that many Pacific Island broadcasters cannot afford to subscribe to wire services which often do not feature much in the way of Pacific news. Hence the reliance of free programming from international broadcasters (Richstad, 1985, p. 35).

Another means of airing the news provided by the international stations is by transcription by a local broadcaster who then rebroadcasts the bulletin in the native language. Fourteen of the stations responding to Richstad's survey said

they translated some of the news and public affairs programs from international broadcasters into their native language. Such a method was, and still is, a cost-effective way of providing world news to the islands. In responding to the survey, Tonga's station noted that such coverage was necessary because "we cannot afford wire services" (Richstad, 1985, p. 14). Seward (1999) says this is still the case at many Pacific radio stations. It was also noted by a respondent that "a sense of recognition and an authority are given to local events and people when local news is carried by an international service" (Richstad, 1985, p. 14).

Richstad asked the stations to list what they considered the strongest feature of the international broadcasters. Answers included the scope, immediacy, and timeliness of the news. Richstad also asked about the weaknesses of international broadcasters. While the majority of respondents listed no weakness, those who did noted the "parochially biased" nature of VOA news, and the inaccuracy of pronunciation of regional names. Thirteen stations indicated they conducted some form of audience assessment including personal contact, telephone calls, listenership survey, and letters from listeners.

Environmental Influences

Also affecting the characteristics and functions of the station are what has been labeled in the framework as "Environmental Influences." If a new government takes power in Australia it may have different foreign policy priorities or objectives. That may in turn lead to a new focus for Radio Australia and its role in Australia's foreign policy.

Target regions may change depending on the stability of regional governments. For example, the problems in Indonesia necessitate that that

country be targeted. If peace is restored, it may not be such a priority any more. When the coup took place in Fiji, it became necessary to focus more attention on that particular country and region.

Changes in the world system may also lead to changes in the way the station is used. During the Cold War there was a bipolar world system with two super powers. Now there is only one super power and Radio Australia no longer needs to be used as a Cold War warrior.

In addition, as technology changes it is possible to reach out to more and different audiences. As it is noted on the Radio Australia web site,

At the leading edge of multi-modal information delivery, Radio Australia uses short-wave, satellites, audio CDs, multimedia internet sites, and CD Roms. More than 100 radio stations in the Asia-Pacific region use Radio Australia programs, as do a range of educational institutions. All of our material is available to approved partners free of charge. (ABC Online, 2003b)

As noted earlier, one of the new technological innovations currently being developed is the digitization of the shortwave portion of the broadcast spectrum by organizations such as Digital Radio Mondiale (DRM). Jean Gabriel Manguy, Network Manager of Radio Australia, says the sooner digitization takes place, the better because in urban areas in the Asia-Pacific region people are listening to FM and migrating from shortwave. Therefore, the longer it takes for the digitization to take place,

and the longer it takes DRM to deliver a high quality shortwave signal the more people will migrate away, I fear, from the shortwave platform. Now, politically for us it's very useful, DRM offers a future, it shows that shortwave is not a dying platform. But . . . we need to move quickly. (ABC Online, 2002d)

World Radio Network (WRN) is also an organization involved in delivering programming via satellite from Radio Australia and other government owned, and private international radio stations to outlets around the world. This change in technology affects the characteristics and functions of the station as expands the audience, and it increases the functions of the station.

CHAPTER 5 INDIA AND ALL INDIA RADIO

This chapter examines the governmental structure and foreign policy priorities of the Indian government and its use of All India Radio External Services Division (ESD). The first section of the chapter describes the role of the Ministries of Information and Broadcasting and Foreign Affairs regarding All India Radio ESD. The section also contains information on India's treaties, alliances, and foreign aid priorities and structure. This is important as it shows which regions or countries are important to India so it can be determined how, or if, All India Radio ESD is used to target specific regions or groups of importance to India. This is followed by a section outlining the history of All India Radio ESD. These two sections provide a context and a foundation for describing the system in which All India Radio ESD operates.

The final section of the chapter describes and analyzes the role of the government in All India Radio ESD's operation, the role of the terrestrial service of All India Radio, programming offered by All India Radio ESD, languages used, target audience, and means of distribution of the programming and feedback from the audience. The chapter describes the role of external influences on All India Radio ESD including local, regional and world political events, and technological innovation.

Indian Geography and History

India is located in Southern Asia between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, and bordered by Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, China, Nepal, and Pakistan (see Figure 5-1). India is a very complex country with a long and rich history.



Source: CIA World Factbook, 2001b

Figure 5-1. Map of India and surrounding countries

The Indian Constitution of 1950 prescribed Hindi as the official language of India and the country was given 15 years to replace English with Hindi. However, implementation of this mandate was difficult as the non-Hindi speaking people in the South saw the imposition of Hindi as a sign that the north was preferred over the south. More than 50 years after independence, Hindi has still to replace English (Vohra, 2001, p. 196). English is the most important language

for national, political, and commercial communication in India, but Hindi is the primary tongue of 30% of the over one billion people in India. Other official languages include, Bengali, Telugu, Marathi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujarati, Malayalam, Kannada, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Sanskrit, and Hindustani (a popular variant of Hindi/Urdu spoken widely throughout northern India). There are also 24 languages each spoken by a million or more persons, and numerous other languages and dialects spoken by people in the country (CIA World Factbook, 2001b). India is comprised of 28 states and 7 union territories. Its constitution was ratified on 26 January 1950.

Some of the more pressing internal and external concerns in India include the ongoing dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir, massive overpopulation, environmental degradation, extensive poverty, and ethnic strife (CIA World Factbook, 2001b). The dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir has been ongoing since both countries gained independence from Britain and at the time of writing the dispute shows little sign of solution. The next section examines India's foreign policy, followed by a look at the history of All India Radio and the development of the External Services Division.

Foreign Policy Priorities

India's recently appointed External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, says the country's foreign policy evolved and gained national consensus during the struggle for independence and has basically remained the same over the years. Since the 1990s Sinha says there have been two major developments that have affected India's foreign policy: the emergence of a uni-polar world and India's acquisition of nuclear weapons. India, according to Sinha, has adapted

strategically, diplomatically and economically to the changes of a uni-polar world system. He believes one positive outcome of the changes is "as a result of the realization both in the U.S. and India, the two democracies need not always be at loggerheads . . . we have been able to widen and deepen our relationship with the U.S." (Baruah, 2002). Over the years India has followed a policy of nonalignment; striving to find middle ground and maintain relations with most countries. Yashwant Sinha, says the commitment to nonalignment is not diluted by its relationship with the U.S. He notes,

The policy of non-alignment is still a very relevant philosophy in international relations because the basic thesis of nonalignment is that we should be able to follow an independent foreign policy. . . . We faced a certain situation which was unfriendly as a result of the nuclear tests. But we have been able to explain the need for going nuclear. . . . Four years down the line one can say that India's case is now much better understood than it initially was immediately following May 1998. . . . My (foreign policy) focus will be to further strengthen these trends and ensure that we evolve most cordial relations with all our interlocutors in order to safeguard and protect our national interest. (Baruah, 2002)

According to the India Annual Report 2001-2002, a document produced by the Ministry of External Affairs (2002b) summarizing India's foreign policy achievements and relations with other countries,

India enjoys fairly stable relations with most countries or regions of the world. India has strong and friendly relationship with countries in the South-East Asia region due to a common historical legacy, cultural affinities and, of late, economic and commercial interaction. The termination of the Cold War and the liberalization of Indian economy beginning in the early 90s culminated in the "Look East" Policy which further extended and diversified India's relations with the ASEAN region. (p. 13)

However, India's current priority is strengthening its relations with its immediate neighbors. India's External Affairs Minister, Yashant Sinha, says building relations with neighbors is not a new initiative, but "is as old as Pandit

Nehru's Asian Relations Conference...being part of Asia our interest in Asia is natural . . . we have followed a policy of pro-active engagement with our neighbors and I am only trying to push that forward" (Baruah, 2002). Following is a summarization of India's foreign policy priorities.

- To protect and safeguard India's sovereignty and territorial integrity while preserving autonomy in decision-making and simultaneously enhancing the country's strategic space.
- To promote India's role as a factor for peace, stability, security and balance in the international arena.
- To win international understanding and support for India's national interests, priorities, aspirations and concerns within the rapidly changing international environment.
- To strengthen peace and stability in our region, defined in the widest possible sense, and enhance friendship, cooperation and mutually beneficial inter-dependencies with the countries in our extended neighborhood.
- To work with the P-5 [Permanent Five members of the UN Security Council U.S.A., U.K., France, China, Russia] countries and other major powers in strengthening peace, security and multi-polarity in the world based on the new architecture of dialogue and cooperation.
- To promote the cause of democracy and individual freedom so as to unleash the creative genius of peoples all over the world and promote greater realization that democratic governance and systems are essential ingredients of international peace and stability.
- To work constructively with other countries in multilateral institutions and international organizations such as the UN, NAM, ARF, IOR-ARC, etc. so as to generate internationally accepted approaches to contemporary challenges.
- To give greater focus and priority to economic diplomacy with the objective of increasing India's foreign trade and investments into India, ensuring equitable transfer of technology and managerial know-how and strengthening our general economic and commercial links with the rest of the world. (Ministry of External Affairs, 2002a, p. 142)

India supported the United States' efforts in Afghanistan following the September 11th attacks in the United States. India also seemed to welcome the fact that now other countries are able to understand in some measure what it has been facing for years: attacks from terrorist groups. The annual report reflects some hope this will lead to a greater cooperation in the fight against terrorism, both globally and regionally. The India Annual Report 2001-2002 (Ministry of External Affairs, 2002b) states,

There is now widespread awareness in the international community that the phenomenon of terrorism must be tackled globally, and in a nonselective manner, for which close international cooperation is a basic requirement. . . . There is also a widespread international consensus today, that there is no justification for terrorism which must be eradicated wherever it exists. (p. 141)

The Indian government has an affinity for other countries or groups it sees experiencing terrorism or oppression. One note of interest in the Annual Report is India's strong support for the Palestinians. The report states "support for the Palestinian cause is a cardinal principle of India's foreign policy" (Ministry of External Affairs, 2002b, p. 146). The report also says "India feels strongly that nothing should be done to undermine President Yassar Arafat who embodies the struggle and aspirations of the Palestinian people. India stands ready to extend all possible assistance to the friendly people of Palestine" (p. 147). This show of support may be due in part to India's past colonial history and its struggle gaining independence. In addition, India has close ties with Nepal and "supported the efforts of the Government of Nepal to maintain tranquility and order against violence by Maoist groups" (Ministry of External Affairs, 2002b, p. 142).

Of course the one country India remains at odds with is Pakistan. The Annual Report claims that while India's Prime Minister attempted to negotiate with Pakistan's leader on a number of issues such as Indian POW's, religious pilgrims, religious shrines, Pakistani terrorists, and trade issues, Pakistan is fixated on only one issue: Jammu and Kashmir.

The Indian side worked very hard to bridge the vast differences in our respective approaches to bilateral relations and to arrive at a draft joint document that would move our bilateral relations forward. Eventually, this quest had to be abandoned because of Pakistan's insistence on the 'settlement' of the Jammu and Kashmir issue as a precondition to normalizing relations. Pakistan was also unwilling to address our concerns on cross-border terrorism (Ministry of External Affairs, 2002b, p. 143).

Having looked at India's foreign policy priorities, the next section examines All India Radio's history.

All India Radio

History

Radio broadcasting in India began in 1923 with the activities of the amateur radio clubs in Bombay and Calcutta. These radio clubs used equipment provided by the Marconi Company. A radio enthusiast, C.V. Krishnaswamy Chetty, formed the Madras Presidency Radio Club on May 1924. He assembled components obtained from a trip to England into a 40-watt shortwave transmitter with the call sign of 2GR, which was used for India's first shortwave broadcast. The initial station had a range of 5 miles so a new 200-watt transmitter was

installed giving the station greater output. The fledgling station faced financial difficulties and closed in 1927 (Guha as cited in Magne, 2001).

Also in 1927, the Indian Broadcasting Company, a private company with two stations, one in Bombay and one in Calcutta, negotiated an agreement with the Indian government and began broadcasting locally. The transmitters used were 1.5 kW medium wave transmitters and the broadcasts could only be heard for a radius of about 30 miles (Awasthy, 1965). However, despite the low power of the station, and limited reach, the station was received by around 3,500 people in India (Baruah, 1983). At the inauguration of the Indian Broadcasting Company stations, the chairman, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, showed he had grasped the potential power of the medium when he said,

India cannot lag behind the rest of the world in so great a development [as broadcasting], the potentialities of which are only just beginning to be realized. One of the greatest problems of India is that of distance and the consequent difficulty of maintaining efficient communication between her component parts. It is the recognized merit of broadcasting that it annihilates distance so far as the transmitting of sound is concerned. With the advent of broadcasting there is nothing to prevent, in time, the farthest confines of Kashmir, Sikkim or of Travancore simultaneously receiving the news of the moment. In other directions broadcasting may well be able to banish the odium of isolation, and provide entertainment and education. (Baruah, 1983, p. 2)

The Indian Broadcasting Company ended March 1, 1930, due to "under-capitalization and the high price of receiving sets" (Baruah, 1983, p. 4). One month later the government took over the operation and established the Indian State Broadcasting Service. There may have been another more culturally based explanation for the slow start of broadcasting in India compared to Western countries. Lionel Fielden of the BBC, who would become the first

broadcasting controller in India, noted in a report submitted to the British government in 1939 that,

It may perhaps be said—although this did not apply as acutely in Bombay and Calcutta as in other parts of India—that Indian conditions and traditions were by no means as favorable to the rapid growth of broadcasting as those of the West. In the West, broadcasting was a convenient channel for an already established tradition of concerts, theatres, lectures, and news; whereas in India, public interest in all these activities was apathetic and severely limited. (Fielden as cited in Awasthy, 1965, p. 6)

Awasthy (1965) disagrees with Fielden in part stating that India has always had a rich tradition of festivals, dance, drama, and music, but possibly due to the lack of finances or lack of insight the Indian Broadcasting Company did not exploit such events for its broadcasts as it could have.

After the collapse of the Indian Broadcasting Company, public and various political entities pressured the Indian government to take over the stations and continue broadcasting. In 1931 the Indian government was facing financial pressures and felt unable to continue running a broadcasting service and decided to close it down. According to Baruah (1983,) "The decision naturally caused widespread resentment and a certain amount of agitation especially in Bengal" (p. 4). The government subsequently reversed its decision just over a month after closing the service. Around this time, the BBC was focusing its attentions on British subjects in the colonies. In 1932 the BBC began the Empire Service; broadcasts to India were via shortwave for 2 hours a day. A few months after inauguration of the service, transmission broadcasts to India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malaya were increased to 4 hours and the sales to colonists of radio sets in places like India increased (Guha as cited in Magne, 2001).

Awasthy (1965) writes that by the end of 1934 there were 16,000 radio sets in use in India, an increase of 8,000 over the previous two years. Guha (in Mange, 2001) notes that increased radio ownership led to an increase in license fees. The revenue from the fees was dedicated to increasing broadcasting in India.

At this time in the development of Indian broadcasting, the British ideas and philosophy of broadcasting began to influence the structure and functions of the new service. In 1934 Lord Reith, Director General of the BBC, was pushing for the British to get more involved in broadcasting in India. In India there was political pressure for broadcasting to be operated at a local or provincial level. However, Lord Reith had a differing opinion about how things should be organized. He felt because this was a fledgling operation it would be more prudent for control to be exercised by the Central Government or the Viceroy. The provinces would have a say in the programming decisions, but control would rest in federal hands (Awasthy, 1965). Awasthy notes that had the move for provincial control succeeded, "India, a multilingual country, poorly developed in communications and abounding in fissiparous tendencies, would suddenly have had as many broadcasting authorities as it had languages and dialects, each interfering with the others" (as quoted in Lent, 1978, 1p. 99). As it was, AIR remained under governmental control and helped to keep the country emotionally united.

In 1935 Lionel Fielden took charge as Controller of Broadcasting and decided that the name of the service needed to be changed from Indian State Broadcasting Service, but there was opposition. In 1936 Fielden saw an

opportunity, although it was not without some trickery on his part. Fielden recalls,

I cornered Lord Linlithgow after a Viceregal banquet, and said plaintively that I was in great difficulty and needed his advice. (He usually responded well to such an opening). I said I was sure that he agreed with me that ISBS was a clumsy title. After a slight pause he nodded his long head wisely. Yes, it was rather a mouthful. I said that perhaps it was a pity to use the word broadcasting at all, since all Indians had to say "broadcasting"—broad was for them an unpronounceable word. But I could not, I said, think of another title; could he help me? "Indian State," I said was a term which, as he well knew, hardly fitted into the 1935 Act. It should be something general. He rose beautifully to the bait. "All India"? I expressed my astonishment and admiration. The very thing. But surely not "Broadcasting"? After some thought he suggested "Radio"? Splendid, I said—and what beautiful initials. The Viceroy concluded that he had invented it, and there was no more trouble. His pet name must be adopted. Thus All India Radio was born. (Fielden, 1960, p. 193)

The British involvement in the new corporation meant it did not have a uniquely Indian identity. In fact, All India Radio (AIR) could really have been labeled BBC India. Awasthy says "Broadcasting in India never had more freedom than what the British government chose for the medium" (in Lent, 1978, 199). Fielden tried to keep AIR free of government interference and this was only possible because he was able to go straight to the Viceroy if he had issues.

In 1937 Fielden was on leave in England and wrote articles in The Times criticizing the direction toward which broadcasting in India was moving. Fielden wrote,

All India Radio grows and grows inevitably out of my control. I felt as if I were being slowly hoisted into a curtained howdah on the back of a swelling elephant. Pioneering days were over. I had done my utmost with careful rules of promotion to avoid the rise of clerks who knew nothing about programmes [sic], and to keep rewards and prizes for those who possessed originality and vigour [sic], however intractable the personalities may be. But I could not help the growth of red tape or the accumulation of a deadly routine. Gradually, I was myself swamped by the problems such as the development of foreign broadcasts, the

imminence of war and the attendant preparations of Parliamentary questions, the welfare, housing and pay of the increasing staff, and printing and circulation of radio publications, the tenders for new stations, the purchase of land for studios and transmitters, the question of acoustics and the relationship of All India Radio with provincial governments. These and many more kept me chained to my desk. (Baruah, 1983, pp. 6-7)

Fielden eventually left All India Radio, and that, coupled with World War II, a British ban on political and controversial broadcasts, and the denial of broadcast access to Indian National Congress Leaders, caused people to grow suspicious of the material broadcast over All India Radio. The British used AIR to serve their own interests to the extent that during World War II, listeners in India had more faith in Radio Berlin than in AIR (Awasthy in Lent, 1978, 199).

External Services Division Begins

On October 1, 1939, the External Services Division of AIR started in response to the British government's desire to give a British perspective on the events leading to the outbreak of World War II. The British were particularly concerned that the message be focused on a region of strategic importance to them: Afghanistan. The initial broadcast was in Pushtu, one of the two major languages spoken in Afghanistan, and also a language spoken by people in British India. The importance of this region and the Middle East region to the British was highlighted by the fact that AIR began broadcasts in December, 1939 in Afghan-Persian, and Persian, and in 1941 in Arabic (Masani, 1976).

When Japan entered the war in 1941, AIR began languages services directed toward South-East Asia and the Far East. Due to its centrality to the region, Delhi was a much more logical location to originate such broadcasts for the British than London. The initial transmissions were known as "Political

warfare broadcasts" (Masani, 1976, p. 57). The Indian government was responsible for broadcasts in English, Tamil, Hindi, and Gujarati, while broadcasts in Chinese, Japanese and other languages were the responsibility of Far Eastern Bureau of the British Ministry of Information. The studios used for the broadcasts belonged to All India Radio, but control of the broadcasts to the Far East was in the hands of the South-East Asia Command General Headquarters (India) and the Far Eastern Bureau (FEB). According to Masani, "in theory E.D. Robertson, the Special Officer (Far East) was responsible jointly to AIR and FEB but, in fact, AIR had no say in the contents of the broadcasts" (p. 57).

Among the programming content Indian stations were asked to broadcast were "programs explaining the Allied cause and the evils of Nazism and fascism; encouraging army enlistment; and educating civilians in air raid precautions and the need to cut down on non-essential consumption" (Guha as cited in Magne, 2001, 19). Guha notes that shortwave broadcasting was not just a component of India's wartime effort, it was a *successful* component. Guha writes, "so successful was AIR's war effort that it prompted Adolph Hitler to broadcast back in Hindi, the Indian national language, from the wooden towers of the Huizen shortwave facility in the occupied Netherlands" (as cited in Magne, 2001, p. 18).

Six years after AIR External Services Division (ESD) began the station was transmitting 74 daily broadcasts in 22 languages. However, once the war ended the British appeared to lose interest in the external services of AIR and the British gave the transmitters, equipment, and control over the external broadcasts to the domestic wing of All India Radio. The number of language

services began to decline, and it wasn't until independence in 1947 that the Indian authorities began to look seriously at how it might use the station as a tool of foreign policy. Masani (1976) notes that in 1947 "a service was inaugurated for listeners in Indonesia which was engaged in a struggle against the Dutch. This was obviously a 'political' broadcast, aimed as it was at supporting the cause of Indonesia's freedom" (p. 58). The Indian government, fresh from gaining independence itself was obviously sympathetic of the attempts of another country to gain independence from colonial control and saw the service as a way to encourage the people in their efforts. Masani notes that the broadcasts contained positive news for Indonesians of the progress of fighting against the Dutch, which the Dutch-controlled Indonesian media were not broadcasting. As word got out about the broadcasts AIR's Indonesian service grew in popularity. Similarly broadcasts to Bangladesh before it gained independence had the same purpose. The focuses of the broadcasts by AIR External and the languages changed over the years as the foreign policy priorities of the Indian government changed.

In 1962 China attacked India seizing land and leading to conflict in the border regions, something that still occurs today. After the attack it became apparent that the External Services of AIR were lacking. The existing transmitters were not strong enough to reach into China, and the languages used were not effective. Two new transmitters and additional languages were added to provide India's view on events to the region. Three years later with the conflict still fresh in people's minds, three more shortwave transmitters were installed giving AIR ESD a strong presence in the region (Guha as cited in Magne, 2001).

In April 1966 AIR ESD integrated several different English services directed at overseas listeners, and formed the General Overseas Service (GSO) with almost ten hours of broadcasts. Also at this time an Urdu service, again with about 9 hours of programming, was instituted for listeners in the India-Pakistan sub continent (Baruah, 1983).

In 1971 the External Services introduced one hour broadcasts in Sindhi and Russian (Baruah, 1983), and by 1976 the External Services of All India Radio was broadcasting in 18 languages for 33 hours per day. Most of the transmitters for the station were located in Delhi, with others in Bombay and Madras. Professor Madhu Malik worked for AIR's Russian service in the early 1970s. Her job involved translating news and commentaries into Russian. She says the programming of the External Services Division was very region specific. Although many of the news stories broadcast were the same for all services, each bulletin was tailored to the specific language service so that, for example, a story of interest to the Russian audience would be inserted in the Russian news bulletin but would not necessarily appear in the news bulletin for a different language and region. Malik says the Russian service received many letters from the Russian republics and the feedback showed that the audience loved Indian film music. In her estimation, the programming was more cultural than political and was designed to provide a glimpse of India to people in Russia (Personal interview, February 13, 2003).

Masani (1976) notes that over the years, broadcasts by the External Services of AIR have met with varying degrees of success. During the early years of World War II the Indian people were more likely to listen to and believe broadcasts from Germany than they were those from Britain. This was in part due to the anti-British sentiment in the country. In the 1950s and 60s broadcasts into East Pakistan by AIR were popular with preference being to listen to programs broadcast from Calcutta than from Dacca. Masani makes the point that when people are dissatisfied with political and social climate in their own country they are likely to look for information from other sources.

Today, according to All India Radio, the External Services Division "has successfully assumed the role of a cultural ambassador of India to the world, projecting and promoting the Indian image at a global level" (All India Radio, 1).

Systems Model

Figure 5-2 illustrates the system that the External Services Division of All India Radio is a part of and the many factors that influence its programming output.

Description and Analysis

Government Control—Ministry of Information and Broadcasting

The Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (www.mib.nic.in) is headed by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting and the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting. The day-to-day operation of the Ministry is headed by a

secretary who is assisted by an additional Secretary, an Additional Secretary-cum-Financial Advisor, three Joint Secretaries and one Chief Controller of Accounts. There are 11 officers of the level of Director/Deputy Secretary, 15 officers of the rank of under secretary, 41 other gazetted officers and 285 non gazetted officials in different wings of the Ministry. (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002, p. 83)

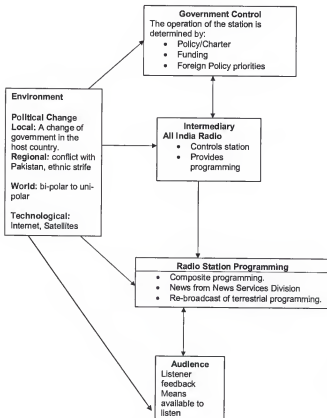


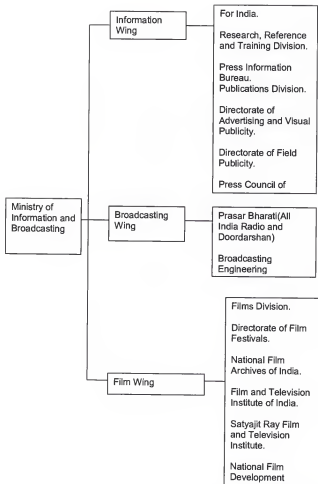
Figure 5-2. AIR ESD systems model

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is divided into three "wings:" information, broadcasting and film. The information wing deals with print, media policy, and press and publicity for the government, while the other two wings deal with the radio, television and film industries. A complete organizational chart can be seen in Figure 5-3.

The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has historically and currently served several functions for the government:

- to create an environment and set up a policy framework for the healthy development of various mass media in the country;
- to keep the people informed about the Government's policies and programs through the mass media;
- to educate and motivate the people to greater participative involvement in the various developmental activities and programs of the Government;
- to liaise with State Governments and their Organizations in the field of information and publicity; and
- to serve as a constant link between the Government and the Press and act as a clearing house of official information and authentic data pertaining to the Union Government's plans and programs (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002).

The Ministry is responsible for several "media units" including All India Radio and Doordarshan (the national television service), which function autonomously, but remain under the control and guidance of the Ministry. The Ministry, "co-ordinates, assists, supervises and monitors the activities of the various units under its administrative control for efficient operations" (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002). In addition the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is responsible for developing policy guidelines for the dispersal of



Source: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002

Figure 5-3. Organizational Chart of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting

news and information by the media units. Although, on paper, the media units have autonomy, they are in fact closely monitored by the Ministry to ensure the product they produce follows closely the dictates of the government.

Intermediary—All India Radio

All India Radio (AIR) and its television counterpart Doordarshan were previously independent media units under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. In 1990 the government passed the Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Act implementing an autonomous broadcasting body comprising AIR and Doordarshan (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002). The desire was for India to have a legitimate public service radio and television operation based on several models operated in countries overseas. However, the organization is not completely autonomous as section 23 of the 1990 Act illustrates:

Power of central government to give directions.

- (1) The Central Government may, from time to time as and when occasion arises, issue to the Corporation such directions as it may think necessary in the interests of the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India or the security of the State or preservation of public order requiring it not to make a broadcast on a matter specified in the direction or to make a broadcast on any matter of public importance specified in the direction.
- (2) Where the corporation makes a broadcast in pursuance of the direction issued under sub-section (1), the fact that such broadcast has been made in pursuance of such direction may also be announced along with such broadcast, if the Corporation so desires. (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002)

All of the internal and external services comprising All India Radio, are funded through a grant-in-aid from the government.

To fully appreciate the organization that is All India Radio it is helpful to look at some statistics. According to journalist Manosij Guha, "AIR has one of the largest operations, both technically and in terms of facilities, in the broadcasting world" (in Mange, 2001, 27). AIR includes,

over 9,000 engineers and technicians are responsible for planning, designing, installing, operating, and maintaining 237 installations. These include 303 transmitters, 48 for shortwave; eight External Service Centers; 32 Vividh Bharati commercial stations; 106 studio-to-transmitter links; 345 satellite radio terminals; and 189 studios. The Home Services employ over 6,500 staffers churning out programs in 24 languages and 146 dialects. (Guha as cited in Magne, 2001, p. 27)

Although AIR is impressive in terms of its size and reach, it has been, and continues to be, encumbered by bureaucracy. As Guha notes, "for every employee involved in turning out programs, there are nearly two functionaries. Fully 11,000 administrative and support personnel bloat the payroll, making the organization exceptionally unwieldy" (p. 27).

Program Code

The General Broadcasting Code or Program Code for AIR was developed in 1967 and is still in effect. According to Baruah (1983) it was implemented following a dispute between a Minister of the government in West Bengal, and the director of the AIR station in Calcutta over a passage in the Minister's broadcast script which was deemed objectionable. At that time the Secretary for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Ashok Mitra, drew up the code and presented it to Parliament. The code prohibits the following:

- (a) Criticism of friendly countries.
- (b) Attack on religions or communities.
- (c) Anything obscene or defamatory.

- (d) Incitement to violence or anything against maintenance of law and order.
- (e) Anything amounting to contempt of court.
- (f) Aspersions against the integrity of the President and Judiciary.
- (g) Anything affecting the integrity of the Nation, and criticism by name of any person. (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002)

While station directors could refuse a broadcast violating the code, disputes involving a Minister of a State Government must be decided by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The code, however, does not apply to news bulletins (Baruah, 1983). According to a program officer with Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India), the code and underlying philosophy governing All India Radio has not changed over the years. Even a change in government has not meant, and seems highly unlikely to mean, a change in focus for AIR. The officer noted that the code is set in stone and that it would be a brave government that would attempt to amend it. Since AIR opts for caution in each situation, it seems that no government is willing to change the way the service functions. AIR is also useful for the government in power as it provides publicity for the politicians and their policies. With such a mutually beneficial relationship between the politicians and both the internal and external services of AIR, there is little point in bringing about any changes in the way AIR functions or is structured (Personal interview, August 7, 2002).

What the AIR program code suggests is that the government keeps a tight reign on what is broadcast both internally and externally. The code is comprehensive but also very vague. For example what is meant by obscene or defamatory? What is the integrity of the nation? A well-educated guess could be

put forth, but there seems to be a lot of wriggle room. Hence the observation by the Prasar Bharti employee that AIR does not step out of line and thereby avoids any confrontation with the government.

Ensuring it does what is expected, the government scrutinizes the external services division of AIR. During a 1997 question time in the Indian parliament, the then-Minister of Information and Broadcasting, C.M. Ibrahim, was asked by another member of Parliament, Krishna Kumar Birla,

whether the government have made any critical review of the external services of AIR to know its performance in presenting to the global audience [the] Government's view point in national and international issues besides molding world opinion or political propaganda against India. (Government of India, 1997)

The Minister replied,

Constant review of the broadcast of external services of All India Radio is being done to ensure that [the] Government's stand on national and international issues are projected properly through news bulletins, commentaries and press reviews in order to mould world opinion and to counter political propaganda by Pakistan against India. (Government of India, 1997)

The reply by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting is important as it explicitly shows the extent to which the government claims it is involved in the operation of the External Services Division of All India Radio. Therefore any claims at independence or neutrality by the staff of All India Radio must be treated with suspicion. According to Professor Nikhil Sinha, a former news editor for AIR and employee of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the extent of government interference in AIR's operation is "less of a de jour issue, but more of a defacto issue" (Personal Interview, February 13, 2003). The real issue is

what government is in power and who is in charge of AIR. A weak government may try hard to influence AIR to push government policy and, depending on who is in charge of AIR, the efforts by the government may succeed or fail. Sinha says attempts by the government to influence AIR and the resistance, or lack thereof, by AIR management "ebbs and flows." Professor Sinha notes that AIR is an information channel, and it clearly tries to provide the Indian perspective on events in India, the region, and the world, particularly to neighboring countries. AIR ESD is very "cognizant of where India's interests lie," but the problem is when the government in power wants to use policy to force its political agenda onto the airwaves of AIR. That is where AIR management draws the line (Personal interview, February 13, 2003).

Radio Station—Programming

The External Services Division of All India Radio broadcasts just over 70 hours of programming each day (when the total of all broadcasts are added together) in 16 foreign languages: Arabic, Baluchi, Burmese, Chinese, Dari, English, French, Indonesian, Nepali, Persian, Pushtu, Russian, Sinhala, Swahili, Thai, Tibetan, and in 8 Indian languages: Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu.¹

The broadcasts cover about 80 countries in almost all the regions of the world with the notable exception of the two American continents. Target regions include all of Asia, North, West and East Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and Europe and the Indian subcontinent. About half the

¹ The complete broadcast schedule including languages, frequencies and times of broadcast is included in the appendix.

broadcasts in the various Indian languages target Indian populations in Asia, Africa and Europe, while the other half specifically target the neighboring countries of Pakistan and Bangladesh. The purpose of broadcasting to Indian populations is to maintain a connection with the mother country and to make available aspects of Indian culture that may not be available in other countries.

Table 5-1. Indian Language broadcasts by AIR external

Indian Language Service	Target region or country
Hindi	West Asia, East Africa, West Europe, and South East Asia
Tamil	South East Asia and Sri Lanka
Telgu	South East Asia
Gujarati	East Africa
Urdu	Pakistan ²
Bengal	Bangladesh
Punjabi	Pakistan
Sindhi	Pakistan

Most of the broadcasts are fairly short lasting from 15 minutes to 3 hours. For example the four broadcasts in the Bengali language to Bangladesh are from 0300 to 0430, 0800 to 1100, 1445 to 1515, and 1600 to 1730.³ In contrast the one Chinese broadcast is from 1145 to 1315 once a day. The daily French broadcasts targeting West and North West Africa are from 1945 to 2030.

One problem that All India Radio ESD has faced over the years is recruiting and keeping good broadcasters with proficiency in a foreign language. According to Baruah (1983), "as a general rule supervisors of foreign language

²During the Haj season pilgrims travel to the Middle East and AIR external directs a half hour of its Urdu service to Saudi Arabia.

³Times are listed in UTC.

units are Indians, [but] the actual broadcasters, who are designated Translator-Announcers (as they mainly translate from scripts of news bulletins and commentaries, etc. in English), are both Indians and foreigners" (p. 102). The number of foreigners on the AIR staff is declining due to low salary and benefits compared to other international broadcast organizations and difficulty in finding housing. The Ministry of Works and Housing provided Indian employees of AIR with "general pool residential accommodation," but was unable to do so for foreigners (Baruah, 1983, p. 103). The difficulty in recruiting and training foreign broadcasters has led to the need to train Indians to do the job.⁴

All India Radio ESD's target audience is primarily Indian nationals living abroad, or others in neighboring countries with a vested interest in Indian culture, or India's view on regional and world events. An example of those interested in the broadcasts of All India Radio would be those of Indian descent living in Fiji. Almost half of the population of this Pacific nation is of Indian descent as their ancestors were brought over by the British to work in the sugarcane fields. However, Fiji is not a stated target area for any of AIR's broadcasts. The closest the service comes to directly targeting that country is with the English broadcasts to Australia and New Zealand. Broadcasts to Australia and New Zealand are twice a day from 1000 to 1100 and from 2045 to 2230. There is no broadcast in Indian languages to the region despite the fact that Hindustani is widely spoken by the Indians in Fiji.

⁴An employee working for the Indian Broadcasting Corporation confirmed to the author that this problem still exists.

The Indian Embassy in Qatar mentioned broadcasts by All India Radio ESD in the embassy's February 2002 newsletter. The frequencies and times of broadcast were also listed. AIR broadcasts in Arabic for 2 hours and 15 minutes, in Persian for an hour and 45 minutes, and in Malayalam for one hour each day (Embassy of India Doha-Qatar, 2002).

One region of the world not targeted by AIR external broadcasts is the United States. Guhar says that AIR executives have often tried to get the politicians in power to agree to focusing external broadcasts to the "reach the large numbers of the Indian diaspora and others in the Americas and beyond" (as cited in Magne, 2001, p. 35) through various means, but it has not happened. Guhar notes optimistically that "as cautious veterans retire and fresh blood steps in, AIR may yet take these steps, allowing it a place of distinction among international news and cultural sources (as cited in Mange, 2001, p. 35).

According to Baruah (1983) critics often ask why AIR ESD carries programming in languages that may not be heard clearly in the target regions when the resources could be used elsewhere. The answer lies with the Ministry of External Affairs. It is not forthcoming on any answer except that it seems reluctant to shut down any service.

Medium used. All India Radio ESD uses shortwave radio to transmit its programs. The station uses 15-high powered transmitters to broadcast programming from a site in Khampur, just outside of Delhi.

The powers that be would like to keep the beefy Khampur site something of a secret, which is like trying to hide an airplane in a school parking lot. The

site has 49 curtain arrays from 15 towering antenna masts, all linked by nine miles of thick feeder lines—a dead giveaway to all but the truly blind, despite noble intentions to keep everything under wraps. The veil of secrecy can be dumbfounding, as is the rusty vintage rifle carried by Khampur's lone guard. But AIR could be in worse company—a number of world band organizations from other major democracies also treat transmitter information as hush hush (as cited in Magne, 2001, pp. 34-35).

According to Guhar the site that carries the bulk of AIR ESD programming to the "far-flung regions" is located at Dodhballapur near Bangalore in the south of India. This site consists of 632 acres with six 500 kW transmitters, 36 antennas, 21 masts, and "a spaghetti bowl of feeder lines visible for miles around" (as cited in Magne, 2001, p. 35).

Plan schemes. For about the last 50 years broadcasting in India has been directed by a series of "plan schemes." These plans lay out physical improvements and upgrades for the internal and external services of All India Radio and Doordarshan over periods of 5 years. The overarching goal of the most current plan, the ninth, is to modernize the various units and computerize facilities. The ninth plan outlines improvements for the external service including the establishment of five additional 250 KW transmitters at Delhi, and the replacement of two other 250 KW transmitters at Aligarh. In addition, the plan called for the broadcasting of external services programming on the Internet. AIR is planning for streaming audio on the Internet, but as of early 2003 nothing had materialized. A new complex was also proposed with the latest broadcast

equipment to house the External Services Division, the News Division, and the Home Services division of All India Radio.

Programming Content

The goal of the external services of All India Radio can be summed up by a statement on the station's web site: "The External Services of All India Radio acts as a bridge between India and the world" (All India Radio, 2003, p. 1). In addition, the programming will "project the Indian viewpoint on world affairs, and acquaint listeners living abroad with the current changes and developments in the country's scenario, along with providing comprehensive information on India, as a whole" (All India Radio, 2003, p. 7).

Programming aired on the service is designed to project the Indian point-of-view of regional and world events, and to "project our life and culture particularly progress in social and economic spheres, and promote international understanding" (Baruah, 1983, p. 94). To achieve this end, All India Radio uses a composite program for its external broadcasts mixing both original programming and programming already aired on All India Radio stations in India. A lack of qualified programming staff and available funding necessitates most of the Indian language programming are repeats of regional programs. The Indian language services emphasize "developments in India and meeting the cultural needs of the people of Indian origin" (Baruah, 1983, p. 94).

The foreign language programs are produced solely for the external service. For example, the news bulletins are standard across the various languages, with each bulletin translated into the various languages by staff

members of All India Radio (AIR). The English language service is known as the General Overseas Service (GOS) and its programming is a mixture of both original and repeated programs. The music and news programs are live while other parts of the broadcast are recorded.

Each AIR external service is a composite program generally consisting of a news bulletin, commentary, press review (a review of the content of the Indian press), talks on matters of general and cultural interest, occasional feature program and documentaries. Music, including Indian classical and light classical music, both vocal and instrumental, as well as music of the targeted area comprises as much as half of the output of AIR ESD (www.allindiaradio.org).

One staple on both the internal and external services is film songs. A large part of the mail received by the external services division consists of requests for film songs. This was also noticed by several listeners to All India Radio ESD who told the author that judging by letters broadcast on the listener feedback show "Faithfully Yours," some of the most popular music are film songs. Film songs tend to be more contemporary in nature as opposed to some of the more traditional music broadcast. In fact, according to a report on National Public Radio, all of the major pop songs in India come from films. One of the most popular composers of Indian film songs, A.R. Rahman, has composed music for almost 60 Indian films over the last 10 years with the soundtracks selling over 100 million copies worldwide (All Things Considered, 2002). Sapna Pathak, a student at the University of Connecticut, says to her the films songs are more important than the dialogue. She says most films contain a minimum of six

to eight songs (Sur, 2002). According to Baruah, "Indian film songs are popular not only with Indian listeners but also with listeners to the Pashtu, Dari, Arabic, Swahili and Russian services" (Baruah, 1983, p. 95).

Christopher Lewis, a presenter for HCJB Radio's DX Partyline, recalls, "One time I was listening [to Faithfully Yours] and a letter was read asking why can't you play western music? The host replied, "If you want to hear that turn on your own station, not ours" (Personal correspondence, August 8, 2002). This seems to sum up the philosophy and focus of AIR ESD. As Lewis notes, "A station like Radio Netherlands is more of an international station, and you'll hear stories not just about the Netherlands, but about the world. With All India Radio the focus is much more on stories [and programs] about India and the region" (Personal correspondence, August 8, 2002). In other words, AIR exists to give people around the world news and information about the region from an Indian perspective, and at the same time provide a means whereby Indians living abroad can remain connected to the mother country.

Special programs commemorating Indian and foreign festivals and anniversaries are also broadcast. According to Baruah (1983), some services have readings from a particular religion's holy book. For example the Quran is read over the Arabic service or Buddhist scriptures over the Tibetan service.

Another particularly popular type of broadcast in India is sporting events such as cricket matches. Depending on the importance of the match, these broadcasts may garner special attention on the English language or General

Overseas Service and all or portions of the matches are retransmitted from the terrestrial broadcasts of AIR.

As mentioned earlier, the length of the broadcasts by AIR external varies, and so not all of the programming elements will be included in every broadcast. The broadcasts may only be about 15 minutes at most. Also, content may well change depending on regional or world events. News also plays a key role in the programming of AIR external and the next section looks more closely at how the news production and content.

News

A staple of All India Radio's broadcasts, as indeed most international stations, are the newscasts. The news is produced by the News Services Division of AIR which produces for both the internal and external services. The Director of the News Services Division is a member of the Central Information Service which handles all of the information and public relations for the Indian government. The Director of the News Services Division also enjoys the title of Deputy Director General and in this capacity works closely with the Director General of All India Radio, and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Under the Director of News there is a Joint Director in charge of news, and several Deputy Directors in charge of newsroom operations, language services, reporting, regional news operations, and administration (All India Radio, 2002b) .

Staff at the various services translate the news into their respective languages. All India Radio has some correspondents around the world, but also relies on Reuters, and other news agencies. The News Services Division

produces 66 daily news bulletins for the external service in 24 languages for a total of almost 9 hours of news per day.

News Philosophy

A former Director General of AIR, U.L. Baruah (1983), wrote about the philosophy governing AIR's coverage of news.⁵ He noted that AIR is criticized for including too much "governmental news or ministerial pronouncements" (p. 76). But such coverage of the government is inevitable as the government is very important to India and to any developing country. Baruah says the Prime Minister is featured prominently because what he or she has to say is of public interest and broadcasts of the Prime Minister's speeches in his or her voice are important because the way it is said cannot be accurately brought out in a news bulletin.

In 1975 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi addressed the Station Directors of All India Radio and said that just because All India Radio is a government department,

does not mean that we do not give the views of other people, but primarily its function is to give the views of the Government of India. The views of the Government of India are not the views and dreams of a single person or a number of persons. They happen to be the views and policies reaffirmed and voted by the Parliament of India. (as cited in Baruah, 1983, 78)

Despite the obvious government influence in what is broadcast by the News Services Division, one of the goals of the Division's newscasts is that they be "free, fair, and responsible" (All India Radio, 2002b, p. 1). Baruah (1983) said

⁵While the manual he wrote is now 20 years old, it is still sold by the publications division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

AIR sought to deliver bulletins with high standards of objectivity and accuracy.

He said AIR was careful to avoid "reporting agitations and tensions, specifically incidents of a communal nature which might have a triggering effect" (p. 78).

Baruah (1983) wrote,

AIR follows the same standard of objectivity, fairness and balance as the newspapers do, but it aims at a higher degree of accuracy and thus avoids speculative stories for which there is literally no space in a news bulletin. While the news bulletins cannot provide in-depth reporting this is done in other programmes [sic] particularly in special reports and documentaries. There is a tendency to look for political balance in each news bulletin or a programme [sic] of commentary which is difficult to achieve. Balance can be achieved over a period of time, and over a whole range of programme [sic] output including news, talks, discussions, interviews, and documentaries. It would not, therefore, be fair to judge AIR's objectivity or political balance from news bulletins alone, much less from a single news bulletin. (p. 78)

Editorial Policy

The Editor-in-Charge makes the final decision as to what goes into a news bulletin, and this decision is based on "certain traditions and principles that have stood the test of time" (Baruah, 1983, p. 79). The policy statement for AIR news says that "In dealing with news, facts are presented without embellishment, colour [sic] or bias" (as cited in Baruah, 1983, p. 79). The principles for evaluating stories are

- judging every story strictly on the basis of its news value;
- ensuring the highest standard of accuracy and good taste in news reporting;
- treating news factually, objectively and analytically, but not sensationallly;
- avoiding methods of news reporting and treatment which might create alarm and panic;

- projecting national and international ideals for which the country stands;
- reporting news aimed at ensuring territorial integrity, national integration, secularism, norms of public decency, maintenance of public order and upholding the dignity and prestige of Parliament and Legislatures and the Judiciary;
- noticing national achievements in different fields;
- keeping off personal or slanderous news;
- keeping out sex and crime stories unless they are of wide public interest;
- applying the highest standards of objectivity in reporting political controversies in order to give a balanced coverage by avoiding the use of slanted or coloured [sic] versions;
- ensuring that the susceptibilities of a religion, a nation, or a government are not offended;
- avoiding presentation of news in a manner that would encourage subversive activities against a government established by law;
- keeping out gambling or similar information which might tend to cause listeners to gamble on the outcome of an event; and
- avoiding advertising, advancing or promoting interests of an individual, business or trade by referring to its name or otherwise unless the name is essential to the story.
(as cited in Baruah, pp. 79-80)

News Analysis

In order to see how the assertions from Baruah and others held up, the author conducted a content analysis of the newscasts of All India Radio during May 24 to June 10, 2002. These dates were picked at random, and the transcripts were printed from the AIR web site (<http://www.allindiaradio.org>). The author verified the accuracy of the transcripts by listening to the corresponding audio files on the web site. The author cannot guarantee with absolute certainty

that these broadcasts were aired over the external services of All India Radio, but according to sources within the organization the bulletins produced for the internal and external services are almost identical. The analysis of the newscasts illustrates what issues are deemed important to India as it promotes its interests to the audience.

The newscasts were broadcast at various times of the day and were randomly selected. The newscasts were approximately 5 minutes long. There were a total of 283 stories consisting largely of stories about events in India ($n = 101$) and stories to do with tension between India and Pakistan including Jammu and Kashmir ($n = 121$). A few stories ($n = 12$) were regional, dealing with countries such as Sri Lanka and very few ($n = 5$) stories dealing with world events. The rest of the stories dealt with sporting events. At the time of the analysis the soccer World Cup was being held and that accounted for most of the sports news ($n = 23$). Other sports stories included cricket news ($n = 12$), the French Open Tennis ($n = 7$) and stories about an Indian chess Grandmaster ($n = 2$).

The government uses AIR to articulate India's policies and views on world events. The newscasts are no exception and the bulletins focused very heavily on issues such as Kashmir. There did not appear to be an effort to present other sides to the issue.

Audience—Feedback

Feedback to the broadcasts of All India Radio ESD varies depending on the language services. AIR assesses the impact of its programming through

listener letters, reports from foreign broadcasting organizations such as the BBC World Service, and reports from Indian Missions abroad (Baruah, 1983).

Political Change

The coup in Fiji resulted from tensions between indigenous Fijians and Fijian Indians (descendants of people brought to Fiji from India by the British to work the sugarcane fields). Although the Fijian Indians are Fijian citizens, India is still concerned over their wellbeing. Therefore, the coup in Fiji garnered much disdain from politicians and the media in India (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2002), but the programming on All India Radio ESD did not reflect that. In fact, according to sources at the Indian Broadcasting Corporation, the response by All India Radio to the coup was uniform on both the regional network and the external stations. There were some news stories about the situation and some mild coverage; but as the Pacific Islands are not a primary focus of the External Services Division, there was not much effort to include anything different.

According to Professor Nikhil Sinha, the lack of coverage of Fiji was not so much lack of interest as it was lack of structure. AIR ESD is not set up to cover such events. The service relies more on information provided by news services such as Reuters and also information from its embassy in the region. There is simply not the funds to have reporters on the scene (Personal interview, February 13, 2003).

Sinha's observations are backed up by Professor Dev Nadkarni, Senior Lecturer and Coordinator-Journalism at the University of the South Pacific, who

says that although AIR did report regularly for about a week after the coup, most of the reports were datelined Fiji/New Zealand/Australia and were credited to news agencies. Nadkarni says he could not recall hearing any news analysis or experts' opinions, and that AIR's regular programming did not change in any way as a result of the coup.

Technology

There have been several developments which will have significant ramifications for AIR ESD. The broadcasts of All India Radio ESD have primarily been transmitted via shortwave around the world; however, India is now beginning to send programming from its internal FM network to countries in Africa and Asia via WorldSpace satellite. WorldSpace operates in Washington, DC, and was founded "to provide direct satellite delivery of digital audio and multimedia services primarily to the emerging markets of the world, including Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean" (WorldSpace, 2003). WorldSpace consists of three geostationary satellites, AfriStar, AsiaStar, and AmeriStar. Listeners in the regions targeted by WorldSpace need special receivers to be able to listen to the programming.

In addition, in late 2002, the Indian government signed a contract with Mauritius which enables AIR's FM signal to be sent via satellite to a transmitter at Port Louis, Mauritius, where the signal will be downloaded and retransmitted via FM across the island. Officials believe that because there is a large Indian population in Mauritius interest in AIR programming will be high. AIR executives hope this will become a model which can be replicated in other countries. If

successful these ventures may gradually eliminate the need for India to use shortwave to send programming to certain countries. However, the need for special equipment to listen to broadcasts via WorldSpace may mean that shortwave will continue to be used at least until there is significant interest in the satellite broadcasts.

This chapter examined why and how India uses its international radio station. The final chapter summarizes the research on Radio Australia and All India Radio. The chapter begins with an overview of the uses of Radio Australia and All India Radio by their respective governments. The next section looks at the future of international broadcasting, and is followed by a section discussing the limitations of the research and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the work, and discusses its conclusions. The limitations of this research are discussed and suggestions offered to those wishing to build on this work.

From the 1920s until the end of the Cold War many governments used international radio broadcasting via shortwave as a foreign policy tool. Governments used various programs to reach mass audiences at home and abroad with broadcasts putting themselves in the best possible light. The end of the Cold War removed some of the justification for the use of such services, and in recent years many countries¹ have either cut funding, or eliminated altogether, their international radio broadcasting services. Despite these cuts there is still a need for governments to articulate their foreign policy to their immediate region and to the world. In addition, governments desire to articulate aspects of their nation's culture and identity to audiences around the world.

Within the context of changes in the use of international radio broadcasting and the desire to continue communicating information to regional or worldwide audiences, the researcher examined the use of international radio broadcasting by two regional powers: Australia and India. Both have used their

¹These countries include, Austria, Switzerland, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Finland, Germany, and others.

international radio broadcasting services, Radio Australia and All India Radio External Services Division for many years. While All India Radio ESD has continued broadcasting without any dramatic changes over the years, Radio Australia has faced tough times including cuts in funding leading to staff layoffs, and cuts in programming.

Two overarching research questions were developed to guide the research:

- Q. 1 How are Australia and India using their international radio stations in the post-Cold War era?
- Q. 2 Why are Australia and India using their international radio stations in the post-Cold War era?

These are broad questions and to answer them requires understanding of the use of the radio stations in the context of relationships with the government, with other services providing programming for the service, with the audience, and with changes in technology and changes in regional and world politics.

Systems theory was used to describe these relationships. A model was developed illustrating how the international radio broadcaster does not operate in isolation, but that programming is affected by many influences. The relationship between the radio service and the government is paramount because the government provides funding. That funding only continues if the government feels the station is effective in reaching the desired audiences. Another important aspect is the relationship between the radio service and technology such as the Internet. For example, while some countries (The Netherlands,

Australia) are using the Internet to enhance the radio broadcasts, other countries (Switzerland, Britain) are using the Internet as justification for closing services.

Because Radio Australia and All India Radio ESD are tools of foreign policy, it is necessary to understand the respective government's foreign policy priorities and whether those are reflected in the mission statement and charter and programming of the services. It was important to understand to what degree the government influenced the content of the broadcasts and what are the government's desired outcomes of the broadcasts. To answer these questions, policy documents were analyzed, broadcasts listened to, and employees and listeners interviewed to describe how and why Australia and India use their international radio broadcasting services.

Operational questions guided the research. Answers to these questions form the research questions. Following this is a section describing the limitations of the research, and a discussion section describing the implications of the research.

Conclusions

1. In what way(s) is international radio broadcasting a useful means of international communication for the Australian and India governments?

In answering this question, it is useful to use Browne's (1982) categories noted in Chapter 1. Browne identified eight uses for international stations: instrument of foreign policy, mirror of society, symbolic presence, converter and sustainer, coercer and intimidator, educator, entertainer, and seller of goods and services. In looking at the foreign policy priorities of the Australian government

and the programming of Radio Australia it is clear that Radio Australia is being used to enhance the Australian government's foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific region. The programming, and indeed the charter and other policies that govern the operation of the station, reflect Australia's culture and society. However, this is only really credible in any shape because Radio Australia positions itself as a public service broadcaster. The station certainly serves as a symbolic presence for the Australian government. The fact Radio Australia's programming is rebroadcast on stations around the region gives Australia a presence in the minds of the listeners to those stations the country may not ordinarily have. In this sense Radio Australia very much serves an ambassadorial function for the Australian government.

Although not explicitly stated, Radio Australia also serves as a converter and sustainer. When Browne used this category he had religious stations in mind, but very clearly programming on a station like Radio Australia is used to promote Western ideals of democracy to people used to a much more restricted form of government. Not only does the station inform people of such ideals, it could fuel their desire to see changes in their own country.

Radio Australia definitely fills the roles of educator and entertainer. Much of its foreign language programming is devoted to educating the listeners. This is often done in connection with Australian universities and faculty experts. Much of the programming is also entertaining. However, these categories are not mutually exclusive. A program can be entertaining and educational and still promote a country's foreign policy and a country's culture. An Australian

listening to a program featuring comedy about Australia may find the program entertaining. Someone from a different country and culture may view it more as educational because it gives them insight into Australian norms or humor.

The world of international broadcasting has changed significantly since Browne (1982) wrote his book. One category that he did not include was that of programming producer and provider. Radio Australia has a very important function as a program provider both in relaying material and, increasingly, as a provider of original programs not broadcast over Radio Australia. This came about almost out of necessity as the station struggled to stay alive following the government cutbacks in 1997. The way the management and staff of Radio Australia is constantly repositioning the station and seeking new avenues to reach audiences in the Asia-Pacific region may shed some insight into the future of international broadcasting.

AIR ESD definitely mirrors aspects of Indian society and is designed to be entertaining and educational. Culturally India is such a complex country with many different religions, cultures and languages, and it can be argued that it is impossible to truly reflect Indian culture or society. However, as with Radio Australia, the inclusion in the ESD broadcasts of programming created for a domestic audience ensures that Indian culture is reflected. Programmers use a composite programming format which means the broadcasts include a little of everything: some music (both traditional and contemporary) a news bulletin, social commentary, review of the Indian press, sports, drama etc. The broadcasts are often short (from 15 minutes to 3 hours) so include of everything

may be the best way to capture a part of India's varied culture for those who are interested around the world.

AIR ESD is a symbolic presence and an instrument of foreign policy for the Indian government. If people in the immediate region or around the world want to know India's view on events they can listen to AIR ESD. The Indian government uses the service to counter broadcasts by the Pakistan government and it ensures the newscasts reflect India's view on regional and world events. AIR ESD is a means for the government to "keep the Diaspora informed of developments in the home country and provide them with the 'Indian' perspective on the world" (Nikhil Sinha, personal interview, February 13, 2003). There are as many as 20 million Indians living and working in many countries inside and outside of the Asia region, and AIR ESD is a link for them to the mother country (Embassy of India Dohar-Qatar, 2002).

It could be argued that AIR ESD is a coercer and intimidator, particularly as the country is engaged in conflict with Pakistan. It could be seen as intimidating when AIR ESD broadcasts speeches from, or interviews with, the Prime Minister or other government ministers talking for example about Pakistan's links to terrorists and India's resolve to counter terrorist acts.

2. To what extent are Radio Australia and All India Radio independent of government influence in their operation?

No government funded service is completely free of government influence. However, Radio Australia has done its best to put a buffer between itself and the government particularly in terms of program content. That buffer has not always

been in place; in fact, it came about because in the early days of Radio Australia the government was determined to influence the content of Radio Australia's programs.

Since the establishment of Radio Australia in 1939 there has been a battle for control stemming from a difference of opinion about how the station should best be used. On the one hand the government has wanted to model the station operation after that of Voice of America. Under this model the government has more explicit control over how the station is run and operated and the station is not under the oversight of any other broadcasting organization. On the other side were the journalists and broadcasters who preferred Radio Australia be run along the lines of the BBC World Service. This model gives the broadcaster more autonomy and allows the broadcaster to operate as part of the country's public service broadcasting corporation. Journalists appear to favor this option as the tie to a public service broadcaster gives them more credibility and allows the journalists to claim more independence and neutrality. While this may be a matter of perception, such perception in the minds of listeners overseas could be crucial. Radio Australia eventually fell under the control of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and the government passed legislation removing the government from having any editorial control over Radio Australia. However, that does not stop the government having a great influence over the region Radio Australia targeted with its broadcasts, and whether the station should even be allowed to exist.

In 1997, the Australian government, acting on a desire to cut the budget of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, issued a report recommending Radio Australia be closed down. Although the station was not completely closed, many staff members lost their jobs, transmitters were sold, and the day-to-day operation of the station severely curtailed. Radio Australia's network manager, Jean-Gabriel Manguy, says at that time the station was left with an intact Pacific service, curtailed English production capacity, and a much-diminished Asian service without transmitters (ABC Online, 2002d). Manguy said for months after the closings the station was receiving letters from people asking, "where have you gone, why don't you talk to us anymore. That was a significant reaction from Asia in particular. You know don't you like us anymore, don't you want to talk to us anymore?" (ABC Online, 2002d).

All of which illustrates that Radio Australia is still very vulnerable to government interference. Despite the fact that the service is not under government control in terms of programming content, the government still controls the money and without adequate finances the service cannot operate effectively.

The control that the Indian government has over All India Radio ESD is best understood in context of the original use of the service by the British. All India Radio began broadcasting while the country was still under British colonial rule. Its early managers and directors were trained under the BBC and this legacy remains with the service today. The External Services Division (ESD) of AIR began in 1939 as a way for Britain to articulate its view on World War II. In

essence AIR was being used as a regional propaganda tool of the British government and the link between AIR and the government was very strong.

The British government controlled the service with the primary goal of supporting Britain's war efforts. In addition to the obvious propaganda type broadcasts, the British used AIR to broadcast public service information to the masses in India and abroad. Programming included information about rationing, and what to do in case of air raids. The broadcasts were also used to try to attract potential army recruits. The British recognized the potential of radio broadcasting and sought to use it to its fullest advantage. When the war ended Britain handed control of the external service to the Indian government.

Once the Indian government took control of AIR ESD, it continued to influence the content and direction of the broadcasts. AIR ESD broadcasts were directed toward other countries that were struggling for independence. India, fresh from its own struggle for independence, believed it could aid in the efforts of countries such as Indonesia to free themselves from colonial rule.

Since its inception, All India Radio was a department of the Indian government. That changed in 1990 when the government passed the Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Act with the intent of establishing some distance between the government and AIR. Professor Nikhil Sinha, a former news editor at AIR and consultant for the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, says political involvement in AIR depends on which government is in power, to what extent the government in power attempts to influence AIR, and

how resistant those in authority at AIR are to the interference (Personal interview, February 13, 2002).

Today, more than 60 years after AIR initiated its External Services Division, the service continues to broadcast to many different regions of the world. Since the service is funded by the Indian government, Nikhil Sinha says AIR understands that its mission is to "propagate" what the government is doing. It is an information channel. Its goal is not to reflect culture so much as to demonstrate unity and diversity. Its programming latches on to the universal parts of Indian culture (Personal interview, February 13, 2002). This is reflected in a statement on AIR's web site stating that AIR, "Keeps listeners in touch with the ethos of India and things that are Indian, and puts across the Indian view on world affairs" (AIR External Services, 2003, 2).

3. What role does Radio Australia's and All India Radio's charter play in governing how Australia and India use the stations?

Radio Australia's commitment to objectivity is possible through its relationship with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation Act 1983 states that the ABC has editorial independence from the government. This independence also applies to Radio Australia. In addition, Radio Australia is governed by editorial policies of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and by its own charter. Radio Australia's charter outlines what is expected of the station in terms of its overarching mission.

However, as was illustrated when funding was removed, Radio Australia is still vulnerable to government interference in other ways. As objective as its journalists try to be, the station is still at the mercy of those controlling foreign policy and funding. History also dictates that should Australia become involved in a war, particularly on a large scale, then the government may well attempt to regain control of Radio Australia from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and influence programming content.

All India Radio ESD does not have a charter such as Radio Australia. AIR ESD is governed by the Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Act of 1990 and by The General Broadcasting Code or Program Code for AIR. These apply to both the internal and external services of AIR. The legislation ensures that although there is a degree of autonomy the Indian government very clearly sets the standard for what is broadcast by AIR ESD.

4. To what extent does the programming and target audience of Radio Australia and All India Radio reflect their country's foreign policy?

Both services' programming reflect in some measure the foreign policy of their respective governments. The Australian government is building and strengthening relationships with countries in the Asia-Pacific region. The languages Radio Australia uses, and the targeting of people in a position to influence others, is indicative of the Australian government's desire to reach the Asia-Pacific region. While Australia maintains relations with countries in other parts of the world, it is a priority for it to cement its presence in the immediate region. Australia is seeking to reassure people in the Asia-Pacific region that

Australia is not tyrannical, but is respectful of their culture and is not trying to impose Western ideals upon them. Radio Australia's broadcasts play a role in helping the Australian government build credibility in the Asia-Pacific region.

Since its inception, AIR ESD has been used as a tool of foreign policy to put India in the best possible light with audiences in the immediate region and around the world. In that respect it does not reflect any one policy goal of the Indian government. The service exists to provide a link between Indians living abroad and the mother country, and to provide a glimpse of India's culture to interested listeners around the world.

5. How has the development of technology such as satellites and the Internet influenced, or changed, the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by Australia and India?

Both Australia and India are actively exploring new ways to transmit their service's signal using technology other than shortwave, and the development of new technology could be both positive and negative. Radio Australia uses satellites to send its programming to local broadcasters around the Asia-Pacific region for rebroadcast. The local stations may just rebroadcast newscasts, or they may use more significant portions of Radio Australia's programming. Satellite technology has enabled Radio Australia's focus to change from being just a broadcaster to a program provider or supplier of content.

The Internet provides Radio Australia with another medium for its programming. Radio Australia streams its English service 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. In addition, the Internet has made Radio Australia more interactive. Listeners are able to e-mail hosts of programs and request

information or even request music to be played. The Internet also makes Radio Australia available to a much larger audience. The service positions itself as a regional broadcaster and there is no attempt to reach listeners outside the Asia-Pacific region. However, through the Internet the service is available to people around the world.

All India Radio is also taking advantage of satellites and the Internet, but the effect of such technology is less dramatic than with Radio Australia. Potentially, the biggest development is the move to transmit AIR programming via satellite for rebroadcast over AM or FM stations in various countries. If people in Mauritius are able to listen to AIR over their local radio, then shortwave broadcasts to those countries could become obsolete. Similarly, AIR is transmitting its signal via satellite

AIR uses the Internet, but not to the extent Radio Australia does. The interactivity and the ability to listen live to the service online is currently not available. AIR newscasts are archived and available as Real Audio files on line, and select programs and speeches are also available. The web site continues to be updated and new information is added. However, most of the site is dedicated to the internal service of IAR and not the External Services Division.

6. How do regional and world political events influence the use of Radio Australia and All India Radio by their respective governments?

It has been said that international broadcasting comes to the fore in times of crisis, and that is what happened with Radio Australia. About four years after the cuts there was an escalation of ethnic violence in several countries in the

South Pacific and in Indonesia. Individuals and organizations in the region petitioned the government for the reinstatement of Radio Australia broadcasts. The Australian government realized it did not have a strong voice in the region and restored funding to Radio Australia to begin broadcasting again to the Asia-Pacific region. It seems for the Australian government at that time conflict or crises was the compelling reason to have a service like Radio Australia. These environmental influences are the reason Radio Australia is still in existence today.

India is situated in a region where there has been continuing crises for many years and so there does not seem to be any thought to eliminating AIR ESD. Some languages may change depending on where the conflict takes place, but for the most part the programming has remained the same. Should hostilities with Pakistan cease and should there be an end to conflict in Sri Lanka and an end to terrorism in the region, then it would be interesting to see if AIR ESD continues. But at the present time such a scenario is unlikely and AIR ESD continues as it has done for many years.

7. To what extent is a nation's use of international radio broadcasting an important tool in establishing the nation's identity to listeners in the region and/or the world?

In Chapter 2 constructivism was described as a way of understanding the influence of culture and identity on a state's interests. The ideas underlying this theory are used throughout this dissertation to explain how a state's identity is reflected through international radio broadcasting. Wendt (1999) notes that "States take many forms—democratic, monarchical, communist, and so on—that

reflect the structure of state-society relations" (201). The form a state takes becomes the state's identity, and it shapes the interests a state has including its foreign policy. If the international radio service is a tool of foreign policy, then its broadcasts will also reflect the form or identity of the state.

Broadcasts by government-owned international radio stations contribute to the building of the originating country's identity because the broadcasts tell the listeners who "we" are, what "we" are doing, and what "you" should think of "us." States can also use radio broadcasts to create a sense of security or insecurity in the listeners' minds. According to Martin (as cited in Fischer & Merrill, 1978) broadcasts such as Radio Australia's or AIR ESD's have value in that they engender a positive feeling toward an object or a subject.

For example, the crisis in Kosovo led the Yugoslav authorities to censor its media, and a U.S. presidential spokesman said he did not believe the Yugoslav president would allow a message from President Clinton to be broadcast on the local media. Consequently, President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeline Albright used the shortwave services of Radio Free Europe to broadcast messages explaining NATO policy to people affected by the crisis (Schweid, 1999). The broadcast by the President and Secretary of State was an attempt to provide a sense of security in the minds of the listeners and to create a positive image of the United States and its efforts in the region.

India has used radio broadcasts to alternately try to create both a sense of security and insecurity. Broadcasts from All India Radio may be listened to by people in Kashmir who are friendly toward India. Those broadcasts establish in

the listeners' minds that India has not neglected them. On the other hand, All India Radio may target listeners in Kashmir who are anti-India and the AIR broadcasts may be used to create insecurity among that segment of the population letting them know India will stop at nothing to ensure that they are defeated.

Similarly, when a military coup took place in Fiji in the late 1980s, the people of Fiji did not know what was happening in their own country. The media were censored and the only reliable sources of information came via shortwave radio. Radio Australia provided the most important international media presence at the time and the Australian government used the broadcasts to provide a sense of security to the Fijian people. Radio made the Fijian people aware of events in Fiji, the Australian government's view of the crisis and how the Australian government was reacting to the crisis.

Both the example with All India Radio, and with the coup in Fiji, illustrate how a government can use radio broadcasting to provide both security and insecurity to an audience, and at the same time create a state identity. In Australia's case the broadcasts by Radio Australia during the Fijian coup could have been used to cement Australia's identity as a regional power and as a country that could be counted on in times of trouble. By contrast, the seeming lack of urgency by India to respond, at least by radio, to what was happening in Fiji with the military coups, could have been seen as creating a form of indifference. With about half the Fijian population being of Indian descent, the coup would have been a perfect time for the Indian government to target

programming toward Fiji and create, or reinforce, bonds of goodwill between those in Fiji and India.

Limitations

This study would have been more effective had the author been able to travel to both Australia and India. Time and monetary constraints rendered this impossible. To really do justice to the research question it would be necessary to spend an extended period of time conducting extensive qualitative and quantitative research. Quantitative research could take the form of listener surveys or surveys of the various broadcasters in the region in much the same manner that Richstad did in the 1980s (see Chapter 4). Such research would contribute to knowledge about the use and effectiveness of mass communication in regions of the world where radio is still a primary means of receiving information.

Qualitative research in the region would involve conducting in-depth interviews with the staff of local island stations and government officials to ascertain what they see as the role of Radio Australia or All India Radio in the region. Focus groups could also be conducted with listeners to get a greater sense of what Radio Australia and All India Radio mean to them in their daily lives, and in times of crisis. What is missing is a sense of what radio, and indeed the media, mean to people in the Asia-Pacific region.

Discussion

Kim Andrew Elliott (2002) writing in the New York Times noted that in his 25 years of working in audience research at VOA he had never come across

people huddled around the radio desperate to gain propaganda information about the United States. Rather, he suggested, a new mindset was needed as decisions were made about the future of radio broadcasting as a tool of public diplomacy by the United States. He said in its heyday Radio Moscow had a large operation, but a small audience compared to the BBC World Service which operated on a smaller budget. Radio Moscow broadcast propaganda, whereas the BBCWS was not directly tied to the British government and so had a reputation for independent and accurate news reporting. Elliott hypothesized that the best way for the United States to use international radio broadcasting would be to offer a service that was not explicitly tied to the government and that broadcast many different aspects of American society, whether the content followed the current government's position or not. That way, listeners would be confident that they were getting a broadcast that truly reflected American society.

In many respects Elliott's notion of an NPR-type international radio service is also the difference between Radio Australia and All India Radio ESD. Radio Australia, while seeking to highlight Australian culture, is not afraid to criticize the government or to broadcast other views of a story. For example, Radio Australia has been critical of government policies, particularly relating to granting asylum to refugees (Kim Elliott, personal interview, April 2002). Radio Australia is not explicitly tied to the government and through its varied programming and commitment to objectivity in its news reporting falls closely to Elliott's suggested model.

All India Radio, however, is more a tool of public diplomacy for its government. The government controls its content, and its function is largely ambassadorial. AIR ESD's purpose is to present India in as favorable light as possible. In fact its English service has the motto "A window to the wonder that is India" (All India Radio, 2003, p. 1). That is not to say that one approach is better or more useful than the other. Ultimately, both Radio Australia and All India Radio still serve to give the listeners a glimpse of Australian and Indian culture. Washburn (1992) in his study on international radio broadcasting said

New issues heightening international tensions such as environmental concerns, access to scarce and industrially necessary minerals, or intensifying economic competition with increasingly powerful nations also can develop and will call for some management through symbolic means. All these conditions will continue to prompt governments to disseminate factual, bureaucratic, linguistic, and sociological propaganda through all channels of communication, including [international radio broadcasting]. Propaganda has not become obsolete. (p. 141)

Washburn mentions that governments will continue to use all channels including international radio broadcasting. Australia has recently restored its international television service. The Australian government offered a television service to the Asia/Pacific region in the 1990s, but it was discontinued during the funding cuts affecting Radio Australia. Australian political scientist Richard Lyon (2001) says a major reason for the cut in the service was poor programming decisions which, "seemed to have generated a negative image of Australian views and culture throughout the region" (p. 529). A consequence of cutting the television service was that, "Australia was left without the means of telling its story around Asia during the years it most needed to have its story told" (p. 529).

In 2002 the Australian government created and funded a new television called ABC Asia Pacific. ABC Asia Pacific is operated by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation providing television service to the Asia Pacific region. The service is commercial and provided via satellite through providers in a particular country, or direct to homes. It presents "information, knowledge and entertainment, [and] an Australian perspective on the region" (ABC Online, 2003a). The service airs newscasts focusing on the Asia/Pacific region, as well as one focusing on Australia. The newscasters and reporters are from the ABC and Radio Australia. Programming includes a large number of documentary and news oriented programs, as well as some dramas and entertainment shows. The Australian government seems to see the television service as a complement to Radio Australia rather than a rival.

Despite the introduction of the television service, the use of international radio broadcasting by Australia and India seems secure for the moment. When he was interviewed on the program "Feedback" in July, 2002, Jean-Gabriel Manguy, Radio Australia's Network Manager, was asked if he saw a bright future for the station. In response he noted that just three months previously the Chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation said there was a future and security at Radio Australia. Manguy believes the challenge for Radio Australia is to be relevant and available to its audience. He says,

We, for 2002-2003, earlier this year have been talking about Radio Australia 'On Air, On Line and On the Ground'. So we need at this stage probably to achieve a degree of physical presence which we try to achieve through, you know, sending people away and so on, reporting, secondment and so on. But when you look at what other broadcasters are

doing they're on the ground, they're in the field, they have teams out there. And I dream of the day when there'll be a Radio Australia production team in Suva, in Jakarta, in Bangkok, in Beijing and in all the key places where we should be, where we should be heard but also where we should be seen. (ABC Online, 2002e)

Radio Australia has had to adapt with the times and in the last five years has successfully reinvented itself to the point where, should there be a change in government policy regarding the usefulness of the service, it may still be able to function as an independent producer of programming for stations in the region.

The Indian government, likewise, shows no sign of eliminating All India Radio External Services Division. It has survived for more than 50 years and seems likely to continue for many more. What is changing is the means of delivery. Satellite and FM translators are destined to become the favored medium of choice for the government just as they are for other international broadcasters such as the BBC World Service, Voice of America, Radio Netherlands and others.

Does that mean shortwave as a means of delivery is dead? Maybe it is to developed parts of the world such as the United States where access to the Internet or other technology is affordable and available. However, in large parts of Africa and other lesser developed regions, shortwave is still the only means of receiving information for many people. John Tusa (1990), former Director General of the BBC World Service, notes that shortwave broadcasting is advantageous because, while it is expensive for the operator, is it very cheap for the listener. Shortwave broadcasting is very difficult for governments to control. Tusa says

shortwave broadcasting is also the most private form of listening for the audience, allowing access to a world the politicians would wish to deny them. Shortwave broadcasting is often a public and national expression of state power; yet shortwave listening affords the listener the most potent way of challenging and circumnavigating that state power (p. 12).

International radio broadcasting exists because governments value its utility in promoting state policies. Tusa (1990) notes that listeners have many different reasons for tuning in to shortwave broadcasts and are often "impervious" (p. 12) to the direct or indirect message that motivated the original broadcast.

There is an anarchic quality to shortwave because it

leaps boundaries, defies regulations, scatters forbidden thoughts and challenges otherwise unchallengeable authorities. It is essentially humanistic, allowing the individual to make his or her own decisions about their view of the world; it opens minds; defies collective regimentation and out of the darkling confusion of the ether, offers a dialogue of ideas between broadcaster and listener. (Tusa, 1990, p.12-13)

International radio broadcasting was "an elite form of communication reaching miniscule audiences, for relatively trivial purposes" but it has developed into a mass form of communication enabling millions of people around the world to choose what they wish to hear. Tusa (1990) says it is "profoundly democratic. With regulation, restriction and censorship all around us, shortwave is surely the last great free medium" (p. 13).

When one combines the benefits that Tusa lists for shortwave broadcasting with the move to digitize the shortwave portion of the broadcast spectrum by organizations like Digital Radio Mondiale it becomes evident that shortwave may still continue to be a viable option for governments for years to

come. The problem is that new means of transmission means new receivers are needed.

When India uses WorldSpace satellite to deliver programming to Africa the only people who can receive the satellite programming are those with digital radios. That is unless the programming is received and retransmitted by a local broadcaster within the country. Likewise Digital Radio Mondiale's technology may be revolutionary, but if no one can receive the programming it is useless.

The problem that has beset international broadcasters for years is that the audience for international stations is hard to pinpoint. International radio stations broadcast into countries where listening to such a broadcast is a crime, and where listeners would not, or could not, admit to listening. Measuring the audience of an international broadcaster is often little more than an educated guess on the part of the broadcaster. In essence many of these stations have only letters or word-of-mouth as proof anyone is even listening. If a station cannot support in any empirical way that there is an audience, why should government's like Australia and India continue to invest money into an international broadcasting station?

Mass communication is still important to any government's foreign policy, and it is important as these countries seek to project an identity to their regions and to the world. If Australia and India want to establish their identities as regional powers in their respective regions they must communicate effectively with people in those regions. In times of conflict people want to know what Australia and India think about the events and what they are going to do about it.

As Radio Australia's Jean-Gabriel Manguy noted, Radio Australia needs to establish a physical presence in the areas the service reaches. This will benefit not only the long term future of Radio Australia, but it demonstrates to the local people that Australia is interested in their region.

This is perhaps the difference between why and how Australia and India use their international radio stations. Radio Australia is becoming a comprehensive regional news and information source within the Asia-Pacific region; it positions itself as "Your Asia Pacific Network" (ABC Online, 2003b). Radio Australia is a source of information people can turn to to find out not just what is happening in Australia, but in their own country. In other words it is a service not just for the Australian government, but it is a service to the people of the region provided by the Australian government. As a consequence of Radio Australia becoming more visible and trusted, perhaps Australia will be seen in a more positive light as well. The benefit of Radio Australia being so focused is that it can use its resources to effectively to target in many different ways its desired audience. It does not have to stretch its funds trying to reach the world. When the coup in Fiji took place, Radio Australia and its parent company, the Australia Broadcasting Corporation, was able to have correspondents in Fiji reporting live as events unfolded. This was important as it showed that Radio Australia was able to react to regional political events and provide timely and comprehensive coverage.

India, on the other hand, uses AIR ESD to maintain a presence in the region but its overarching goal is to serve India as opposed to also serving

people within the region. The Indian government uses the service mainly as a tool of public diplomacy just as it has done for 50 years. AIR ESD is only able to offer a limited amount of programming and that programming is largely ambassadorial. As mentioned in Chapter 5, when the coup in Fiji took place, AIR ESD was only able to offer limited coverage. The service is not set up financially, or in terms of personnel, to provide the sort of coverage that Radio Australia is able to. AIR ESD in its news reports was able to offer stories about the coup through news services such as AP or Reuters, but it could not dispatch correspondents to the island nation.

That is not to say that one approach is more valid than the other, it just highlights the different priorities of the two governments. International radio broadcasting is still a useful and important means of communication for many countries. But, the way in which the service is used ultimately depends on the foreign policy priorities of the government, and the perceived usefulness of the service in helping achieve those priorities.

APPENDIX A
RADIO AUSTRALIA LANGUAGE SERVICE PROGRAM GUIDE

UT	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY	UT
0000	AWAYE! Indigenous issues and arts	SCIENCE SHOW Exploring ideas in science	THE NATIONAL INTEREST - with Terry Lane	BACKGROUND BRIEFING Investigative journalism	HINDSIGHT Insights in history	FEEDBACK Listeners' letters and station news	THE EUROPEANS with Maria Zijlstra	0000
0030						COUNTRY BREAKFAST		0030
0100	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	CORRESPON- DENTS REPORT with Hamish Robertson	0100
0130	HEALTH REPORT With Norman Swan	LAW REPORT with Damien Carrick	RELIGION REPORT with Lyn Gallacher	MEDIA REPORT with Mick O'Regan	SPORTS FACTOR with Amanda Smith	ARTS TALK Arts and cultural debate	OZ SOUNDS - music	0130
0200	THE WORLD TODAY current affairs	THE WORLD TODAY current affairs	THE WORLD TODAY current affairs	THE WORLD TODAY current affairs	THE WORLD TODAY current affairs	BACKGROUND BRIEFING	MARGARET THROSBY Interviews and music	0200
0230	+ stock market report	+ stock market report	+ stock market report	+ stock market report	+ stock market report			0230
0300	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	RURAL REPORTER a rural roundup	FEEDBACK Roger Broadbent	0300
0320	PACIFIC FOCUS (BUSINESS)	PACIFIC FOCUS (HEALTH)	PACIFIC FOCUS (ENVIRON)	PACIFIC FOCUS (SPORT)	PACIFIC FOCUS (CULTURE)			
0330						IN THE PIPELINE	DOCKHAM'S RAZOR Talking science	0330

UT	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY	UT
0340	OZ MUSIC SHOW New releases	MUSIC DELI Diverse music culture	BLACKTRACKER Indigenous music and stories	AUST. COUNTRY STYLE Country music	JAZZ NOTES with Ivan Lloyd			
0400	MARGARET THROSBY Interviews and music	MARGARET THROSBY Interviews and music	MARGARET THROSBY Interviews and music	MARGARET THROSBY Interviews and music	MARGARET THROSBY Interviews and music	PACIFIC FOCUS (ENVIRON)	PACIFIC FOCUS (ARTS)	0400
0430						THE BUZZ with Richard Ayde	ARTS TALK With Julie Copeland	0430
0500	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine inc. sport	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine inc. sport	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine inc. sport	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine inc. sport	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine inc. sport	PACIFIC FOCUS (SPORT)	PACIFIC FOCUS (BUSINESS)	0500
0530						LINGUA FRANCA + @ 0555 BUSINESS WEEKEND	FINE MUSIC AUSTRALIA Charles Southwood	
0600	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	REGIONAL SPORTS	FEEDBACK listeners' letters and station news	THE EUROPEANS With Maria Zijlstra	0600
0620	PACIFIC FOCUS (BUSINESS)	PACIFIC FOCUS (HEALTH)	PACIFIC FOCUS (ENVIRON)	PACIFIC FOCUS (SPORT)	PACIFIC FOCUS (CULTURE)			0620
0630						OZ SOUNDS (music)		0630
0640	OZ MUSIC SHOW New releases Caroline Tren	MUSIC DELI Diverse music culture Paul Petran	BLACKTRACKER Indigenous music Mal Honess	AUST. COUNTRY STYLE Country music John Nutting	JAZZ NOTES with Ivan Lloyd			

UT	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY	UT
0700	PACIFIC BEAT Inc. sport at 0730	PACIFIC BEAT Inc. sport at 0730	PACIFIC BEAT Inc. sport at 0730	PACIFIC BEAT Inc. sport at 0730	PACIFIC BEAT Inc. sport at 0730	ASIA PACIFIC weekend edition	CORRES. REPORT With Hamish Robertson	0700
0730						BUSINESS REPORT	IN CONVERSATION (Robyn Williams)	0730
0800	PM Current affairs	PM current affairs	PM current affairs	PM current affairs	PM current affairs	GRANDSTAND WRAP	GRANDSTAND WRAP	0800
0830						EARTHBEAT	INNOVATIONS	0830
0900	AUST. TALKS BACK Topical talkback	AUST. TALKS BACK Topical talkback	AUST. TALKS BACK Topical talkback	AUST. TALKS BACK Topical talkback	AUST. TALKS BACK Topical talkback	SCIENCE SHOW With Robyn Williams + @ 0955 BUSINESS WEEKEND	THE NATIONAL INTEREST	0900
1000	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	PACIFIC REVIEW	THE BUZZ with Richard Ayde	1000
1030	HEALTH REPORT With Norman Swan	LAW REPORT With Damien Carrick	RELIGION REPORT with Stephen Critchenden	MEDIA REPORT with Mick O'Regan	SPORTS FACTOR with Amanda Smith	IN CONVERSATION (Robyn Williams)	RURAL REPORTER	1030
1100	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC regional current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC weekend edition	CORRES. REPORT With Hamish Robertson	1100
1130	REGIONAL SPORT	REGIONAL SPORT	REGIONAL SPORT	REGIONAL SPORT	REGIONAL SPORT	FINE MUSIC AUSTRALIA Charles Southwood	BUSINESS REPORT	1130
1135	LIFE MATTERS Personal and social issues	LIFE MATTERS Personal and social issues	LIFE MATTERS Personal and social issues	LIFE MATTERS Personal and social issues	LIFE MATTERS Personal and social issues			1135

UT	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY	UT
1200	LATE NIGHT LIVE with Philip Adams	LATE NIGHT LIVE with Philip Adams	LATE NIGHT LIVE with Philip Adams	LATE NIGHT LIVE with Philip Adams	SOUND QUALITY with Tim Ritchie	THE SPIRIT OF THINGS Rachael Kohn	COUNTRY CLUB With Richard Porteous	1200
1300	THE PLANET with Lucky Oceans music around the world	THE PLANET with Lucky Oceans music around the world	THE PLANET with Lucky Oceans music around the world	THE PLANET with Lucky Oceans music around the world	THE PLANET with Geraldine Meliet music around the world	SCIENCE SHOW	COUNTRY CLUB (cont.)	1300
1400	THE PLANET (cont.)	THE PLANET (cont.)	THE PLANET (cont.)	THE PLANET (cont.)	THE PLANET (cont.)	NEW DIMENSIONS	BOOKS AND WRITING	1400
1500	ASIA PACIFIC	ASIA PACIFIC	ASIA PACIFIC	ASIA PACIFIC	ASIA PACIFIC	MELISMA	ENCOUNTER	1500
1530	HEALTH REPORT	LAW REPORT	RELIGION REPORT	MEDIA REPORT	SPORTS FACTOR		+ @ 1555 BUSINESS WEEKEND	1530
1600	MARGARET THROSBY	THE COMFORT ZONE	VERBATIM	HINDSIGHT	AWAYE!	MELISMA (cont.)	THE NATIONAL INTEREST	1600
1630			EARSHOT					1630
1700	BUSH TELEGRAPH	BUSH TELEGRAPH	BUSH TELEGRAPH	BUSH TELEGRAPH	BUSH TELEGRAPH	THE SPIRIT OF THINGS	NEW DIMENSIONS	1700
1730	With Helen Brown	With Helen Brown	With Helen Brown	With Helen Brown	With Helen Brown	With Rachael Kohn		1730
1800	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine	PACIFIC REVIEW	LIFELONG LEARNING	PACIFIC BEAT news magazine	1800
1830					IN THE PIPELINE			1830
1900	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC FOCUS (HEALTH)	EARTHBEAT Environment news	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	1900
1930					IN CONVERSATION (Robyn Williams)	LINGUA FRANCA Aspects of language		1930

UT	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY	UT
2000	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	PACIFIC REVIEW	AUSTRALIA ALL OVER (with Macca)	PACIFIC BEAT (cont.)	2000
2030					COUNTRY BREAKFAST			2030
2100	AM Current affairs	AM current affairs	AM current affairs	AM current affairs	FEEDBACK With Roger Broadbent	A.A.O. (with Macca)	AM current affairs	2100
2130	HEALTH REPORT	INNOVATIONS	RELIGION REPORT	RURAL REPORTER	OZ SOUNDS Music	ASIA SUNDAY @ 2145	IN THE PIPELINE	2130
2200	AM Current affairs	AM current affairs	AM current affairs	AM current affairs	ASIA PACIFIC Weekend edition	CORRES. REPORT With Hamish Robertson	AM current affairs	2200
2230	MUSIC DELIVER	BLACKTRACER	AUST COUNTRY STYLE	JAZZ NOTES	AM Current affairs	BUSINESS REPORT	OZ MUSIC SHOW	2230
2300	ASIA PACIFIC	ASIA PACIFIC	ASIA PACIFIC	ASIA PACIFIC	LINGUA FRANCA Aspects of language	OCKHAM'S RAZOR	ASIA PACIFIC	2300
2330	THE BUZZ	ARTS TALK	RURAL REPORTER	MEDIA REPORT	SPORTS FACTOR	INNOVATIONS	EARTHBEAT	2330

Radio Australia news on the hour.

APPENDIX B
RADIO AUSTRALIA ASIA-PACIFIC SHORTWAVE FREQUENCY GUIDE

Asia					
Best listening times in Asia are: 0600-0930 & 1600-1930 Hong Kong Time					
MORNINGS		DAYTIME		EVENINGS	
kHz	Metre	kHz	Metre	kHz	Metre
9500	31	15415	19	6080	49
11695	25	15240	19	9475	31
13620	25	17750	16	9710	31
15415	19	21725	13	11660	25
15240	19			13620	25
17775	16			15415	19
17750	16			15240	19
21725	13			17750	16
				21820	13

Pacific – PNG, Solomon Islands, Micronesia, Guam, Japan					
MORNINGS		DAYTIME		EVENINGS	
kHz	Metre	kHz	Metre	kHz	Metre
6080	49	9660	31	5995	49
7240	41	15240	19	9710	31
9815	31	17580	16	9660	31
9660	31	21725	13	11650	25
15415	19			13605	22
17715	16			15240	19
				17580	16
				21725	13

Pacific – Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga etc.					
MORNINGS		DAYTIME		EVENINGS	
kHz	Metre	kHz	Metre	kHz	Metre
5995	49	12080	25	5995	49
7240	41	15515	19	6020	49
9580	31	17795	16	9580	31
11880	25	21740	13	12080	25
17715	16			13605	22
17795	16			15515	19
21740	13			15240	19

APPENDIX C
ALL INDIA RADIO EXTERNAL SERVICES DIVISION –
BROADCAST SCHEDULE

Language	Time (UTC)	Frequency (kHz)	Target Area
Arabic	0430-0530	13620 15770	West Asia
	1730-1945	9910 13620	"
	1500-1600		"
Baluchi		1071 9620 11585	Pakistan
Barmar	0100-0130	9950 13630	Myanmar
	1215-1315	11620 11710 15415	"
Bengali	0300-0430	594	Bangladesh
	0800-1100	594	"
	1445-1515	1134	"
	1600-1730		"
		1134	"
Chinese	1145-1315	11840 15795 17705	NE Asia
Dari	0300-0345	9845 9910 11735	Afghanistan
	1315-1415	7255 9910	"
English	1000-1100	1053 15260	Sri Lanka
"	"	11585 13695 15020 17800	NE Asia
	"	13695 17510 17895	Australia NZ
	1330-1500	9690 11620 13710	SE Asia
	1745-1945	7410 11620	W Europe
	"	11935 15075 17670	E Africa
	"	13605 15155	W, NW Africa
	2045-2230	7410 9650 11620	W Europe
	"	7150 9910 11715 11620	Australia NZ
	2245-0045	9705 9950 11620 13605	Asia
French	1945-2030	9910 13605	W, NW Africa
Gujarati	0415-0430	15185 17715	E Africa
	1515-1600	11620 15175	"
Hindi	0315-0415		"
		13695 15075	West Asia
	"	11835 15075 15185 17715	E Africa
	0430-0530	15075 15185 17715	"

Language	Time (UTC)	Frequency (kHz)	Target Area
	1615-1730	7410 12025 13770	West Asia
	"	15075 13720 17670	E Africa
	1945-2045	7410 11620	W Europe
	2300-2400	9910 11740 13795	SE Asia
Indonesian	0845-0915	15770 17510	SE Asia
Malayalam	1730-1830	7115 12025	West Asia
Nepali	0130-0228	594 3945 7250 9810 11715	Nepal
		7250 9595 11850	"
	1330-1430	1134 3945 6045 7410 11775	"
Persian	0400-0430	13620 15770	West Asia
	1615-1730	7115 9910	"
Punjabi	0800-0830	702	Pakistan
	1230-1430	702	"
Pushtu	0215-0300	9845 9910 11735 13620	Afghanistan
	1415-1530	7255 9910	"
Russian	1615-1715	11620 15140	E Europe
Saraiki	1130-1200	702	Pakistan
Sindhi	0100-0200	1071 5990 7125 11790	Pakistan
	1230-1500	1071 9620 11585	"
Sinhala	0045-0115	1053 11985	Sri Lanka
	1300-1500	1053 9820	"
Swahali	1515-1615	13720 17670	E Africa
Tamil	0000-0045	9910 11740 13795	SE Asia
	"	1053 4790 9835 11985	Sri Lanka
	0115-0330	1053	"
	1100-1300	1053	"
	1115-1215	17860	"
	"	13695 15770 17810	SE Asia
	1500-1530	1053	Sri Lanka
Telegu	1215-1245	13695 15770 17810	SE Asia
Thai	1115-1200	13645 15410 17740	SE Asia
Tibetan	0130-0200	9565 11900 13700	Tibet
	1215-1330	1134 9575 11775	"
Urdu	0015-0100	1071	Pakistan
	0015-0430	702 6155 9595	"
	0100-0430	11620	"
	0200-0430	1071	"
	0530-0600	13620 15770 (Haj Season only)	Saudi Arabia
	0830-1130	702 1071 7250 9595 11620	Pakistan
	1430-1735	3945	"
	1430-1930	702 3945 4860 6045	"
	1600-1930	1071	"

Source: Jose Jacob, Box 1555, Somajiguda, Hyderabad 500082, India

APPENDIX D
E-MAIL SUMMARY OF PACIFIC BEAT PROGRAM ON RADIO AUSTRALIA

LATEST PROGRAM: Monday, 21 October 2002

In this programme:

- Tongan MPs stage parliamentary walkout
- Vanuatu ombudsman office strengthened
- Desire for racial reconciliation in Fiji
- Pacific police discuss legal challenges
- Public servant questions effectiveness of aid to Solomon Islands
- American Samoans encouraged to learn aquaculture
- The Red Cross in Solomon Islands

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Tongan MPs stage parliamentary walkout

In Tonga, all nine MPs elected by the people have staged a dramatic walkout from Parliament. Each one of the eight bills the put forward for debate at the current sitting have been summarily rejected by the twelve nonelected ministers, who are appointed by the King, and the nine representatives of the aristocracy. The elected MPs included seven members of the Human Rights and Democracy Movement, and two independents.

Presenter/Interviewer: Jemima Garrett

Speakers: Fred Sevele, Tongan MP and member of the Tonga Human Rights and Democracy Movement

<http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat/stories/s706669.htm>

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Vanuatu ombudsman office strengthened

The ombudsman's office in Vanuatu could be strengthened if parliament allows changes to the Ombudman Act next month. The proposed changes would allow for much closer cooperation between the office, the Public Prosecutor and the police. The Ombudsman, Hannington Alatoa, says the changes will let evidence

gathered by his investigations be used in court against politicians implicated in criminal activity.

Presenter/Interviewer: Bruce Hill

Speakers: Hannington Alatoa, Vanuatu ombudsman

<http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat/stories/s706668.htm>

Desire for racial reconciliation in Fiji

A new study on inter-racial relations in Fiji, commissioned by the Ecumenical Centre for Research Education and Advocacy reveals an overwhelming desire for reconciliation and harmony within the country's multi-ethnic society, Aisake Kasimira , ECREA's director, says what emerges is a strong desire for more relationships between the ethnic groups

Presenter/Interviewer: Isabelle Genoux

Speakers: Aisake Kasimira, director of Fiji's Ecumenical Centre for Research Education and Advocacy

<http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat/stories/s706667.htm>

Pacific police discuss legal challenges

Samoa hosted the 21st meeting of Pacific Island Law Officers last week in the country's capital, Apia. Regional Attorneys General, Solicitors General and heads of departments discussed a number of important issues including money laundering; terrorism; people smuggling; and drug trafficking.

Presenter/Interviewer: Caroline Tiriman

Speakers: Brenda Heather-Latu, Samoa's Attorney General

<http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat/stories/s706666.htm>

Public servant questions effectiveness of aid to Solomon Islands

In Solomon Islands, a long serving public servant claims millions of dollars of the country's aid money is being wasted daily.

Joini Tutua says he has witnessed first hand throughout his long career, the use and abuse of aid money, and says its time recipient country's are held accountable for inappropriate spending.

Presenter/Interviewer: Geraldine Coutts

Speakers: Joini Tutua <http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat/stories/s706665.htm>

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American Samoans encouraged to learn aquaculture

American Samoan students are being offered courses on aquaculture, thanks to a Hawaii-based university program. Dr Darren Okimoto, from the University of Hawaii-sponsored Sea Grant program, will be teaching students and community groups at the American Samoa Community College how to develop aquaculture farms where they can grow ornamental clams, live coral, talapia and shrimp.

Presenter/Interviewer: Bruce Hill

Speakers: Dr Gordon Grau, the head of the University of Hawaii's Sea Grant program

<http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat/stories/s706664.htm>

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The Red Cross in Solomon Islands

How can an international-recognised nongovernment organisation such as the Red Cross provide help to the people of Solomon islands in a times of crisis.

<http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat/focus/s706370.htm>

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<http://abc.net.au/ra/pacbeat>, enter your details, select "unsubscribe" and submit.

APPENDIX E
RADIO AUSTRALIA EDUCATION SERVICE PROGRAM GUIDE

Sharing Power »

Through a radio series, an online game, a chance to create your own anthem and academic papers, we explore whether some of the experiments in power-sharing are strengthening the fabric of nationhood or threatening to tear it apart.

Federasi Australia Otonomi Indonesia »

Radio Australia's newest Indonesian series and website explores governance in Indonesia and Australia. Transcripts and selected content is also available in English.

Time to Talk: Governance in the Pacific »

The 'Time to Talk' website and radio series offers information, opinions, background and analysis about politics, society and governance in today's Pacific. Explore the issues, join the discussion and have your say.

On The Record - Media and Political Change »

Southeast Asian politics has emerged from a generation of regime stability into an era of political and economic upheaval.

The media has inevitably been caught up in these changes.

"On the Record" looks at the role of the media in helping to create a climate for change. The series explores the challenges facing the media focussing on issues of independence and professional reporting.

Globally Speaking - The Politics of Globalisation »

From human rights to the nation state from democracy to the economy, nothing seems untouched by the processes of globalisation. Join us for a new six part series on Radio Australia 'Globally Speaking - The Politics of Globalisation'.

"Carving Out" - Development in the Pacific »

This 13 part multimedia series takes the pulse of the Pacific. In "Carving Out" Pacific Islanders talk about cultural identity, health, education and the state of their environment, voicing their practical solutions to the big questions affecting the Pacific.

Available in English and Tok Pisin.

"Charting The Pacific" »

Life in The Pacific - through maps, issues and the voices of the region's people.

"In the Pipeline" - Converging communications »

Digital technology changes the way we do business - the way we communicate. This joint Radio Australia, Monash University project takes a look at the issues we face in the digital age.

"e-biz" »

Find out how it works and what it all means for businesses big and small.

"Money Markets and the Economy" »

At a time when our lives are increasingly affected by economic decisions and movements on global financial markets, Radio Australia and Monash University present this fascinating 13 part series which helps to unravel the curious and complex worlds of economics and finance. Available in English, Chinese and Indonesian.

Source: <http://www.abc.net.au/ra/learn/default.htm>

APPENDIX F
THE AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION CHARTER

The ABC is a national broadcaster funded by and accountable to Parliament. The functions of the Corporation as provided by the Act are:

- (a) to provide within Australia innovative and comprehensive broadcasting services of a high standard as part of the Australian broadcasting system consisting of national, commercial and community sectors and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, to provide:
 - (i) broadcasting programs that contribute to a sense of national identity and inform and entertain, and reflect the cultural diversity of, the Australian community;
 - (ii) broadcasting programs of an educational nature;
- (b) to transmit to countries outside Australia broadcasting programs of news, current affairs, entertainment and cultural enrichment that will:
 - (i) encourage awareness of Australia and an international understanding of Australian attitudes on world affairs; and
 - (ii) enable Australian citizens living or travelling outside Australia to obtain information about Australian affairs and Australian attitudes on world affairs; and
- (c) to encourage and promote the musical, dramatic and other performing arts in Australia.

In the provision by the Corporation of its broadcasting services within Australia:

- (a) the Corporation shall take account of:
 - (i) the broadcasting services provided by the commercial and community sectors of the Australian broadcasting system;
 - (ii) the standards from time to time determined by the Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABA) in respect of broadcasting services;
 - (iii) the responsibility of the Corporation as the provider of an independent national broadcasting service to provide a balance between broadcasting programs of wide appeal and specialized broadcasting programs;
 - (iv) the multicultural character of the Australian community; and

- (v) in connection with the provision of broadcasting programs of an educational nature — the responsibilities of the States in relation to education; and
- (b) the Corporation shall take all such measures, being measures consistent with the obligations of the Corporation under paragraph (a), as, in the opinion of the Board, will be conducive to the full development by the Corporation of suitable broadcasting programs. (Source: ABC Online, 2001b)

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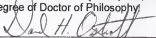
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

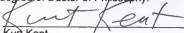
Andrew Clark was born and raised in New Zealand and gained American citizenship in 2000. In addition to his scholastic endeavors he is a professional broadcaster having worked for 16 years at radio stations in New Zealand, England and the United States. He has also worked in the newsroom of a television station in Indiana. Andrew gained his B.A. at Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne, and his Master of Arts in Communication with honors from the University of Florida. Andrew is currently employed as an Assistant Professor of Communications at the University of Texas at Arlington.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.




David H. Ostroff, Chair
Professor of Journalism and
Communications

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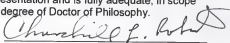
Kurt Kent
Professor of Journalism and
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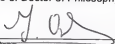
Howard S. Pactor
Associate Professor of Journalism and
Communications

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Churchill L. Roberts
Professor of Journalism and
Communications

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Ido Oren
Assistant Professor of Political Science

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of College of Journalism and Communications and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dean, College of Journalism and
Communications

Dean, Graduate School



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